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About us

The *Scottish Journal of Performance* is an open access refereed journal which aims to promote and stimulate discussion, development and dissemination of original research, focusing both on performance in Scotland (contemporary and historical) and / or wider aspects of performance presented by scholars and reflective practitioners based at Scottish academic institutions.

Published bi-annually and run by doctoral students, the *Scottish Journal of Performance* welcomes submissions from both established and early career researchers and operates a peer review system ensuring presentation of quality research in performance.

Performance in this context encompasses a wide range of arts and entertainment and takes as central themes dance, drama, film, music and television. The *Scottish Journal of Performance* takes as a key focus the creation and execution of performance in various contexts, encouraging the adoption of a wide range of range of research methods and approaches.

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Call for papers

The *Scottish Journal of Performance* is a peer-reviewed open access journal which promotes and stimulates discussion, development and dissemination of original research, focusing both on performance in Scotland (contemporary and historical) and / or wider aspects of performance presented by scholars and reflective practitioners based in Scotland. We invite contributions from a wide and diverse community of researchers, providing opportunities for both established and early career scholars to submit work. We encourage a wide range of research methods and approaches, including practice-led research and practice as research. The first issue was published in December 2013.

We welcome submissions for our second issue. Possible submission formats include audio and video recordings with commentary, practitioner reports, reflective journals and scholarly articles.

Performance in this context encompasses a wide range of arts and entertainment and takes as central themes dance, drama, film, music and television. The research field of the *Scottish Journal of Performance* takes as a key focus the creation and execution of performance in various contexts. Examples include the role and value of performance, performance education, teaching and learning in performance, theory and practice, performance psychology, community performance, performance in society (class, economics, ethnicity, gender, religion), youth performance, performance aesthetics, research methods and methodologies. This list is not intended to be exhaustive.

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Editorial

BETHANY WHITESIDE & BEN FLETCHER-WATSON

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This second issue of the *Scottish Journal of Performance* explores the past, present and future of performance, with papers addressing the legacy of Pina Bausch, the production of a performative iPad experience aimed at toddlers and an examination of the social origins of contemporary dancers in Glasgow. By placing dramaturgical exploration and sociological analysis alongside a practice-centred study, this issue illustrates the extensive range of scholarly modes of engagement available to researchers.

In addition, we are delighted to include two eye-witness reports from major cultural events of early 2014: the first visit of British Dance Edition to Scotland, and the launch of Andy Scott's monumental sculpture, the Kelpies. This engagement with ultra-contemporary concerns determinedly attends both to the journal's stated aim to engage with current performance trends in Scotland and to a desire to exploit the affordances of the electronic medium, which permits a rapid response to new developments. William Hazlitt noted, in his 1822 essay *Whether actors ought to sit in the boxes?*, that 'painters, I know, always get as close up to a picture they want to copy as they can; and I should imagine actors would want to do the same, in order to look into the texture and mechanism of their art'. For scholars too, close proximity to performance as it unfolds can be a thrillingly vital means to delve into practice and forge theory.

Home: the celebratory opening of the Kelpies at Helix Park,

Falkirk by Claire Warden offers an eyewitness account of the launch in April 2014 of Scotland's newest public art project. Warden explores the landscape of Scotland as palimpsest, suggesting that the meanings attributed to landmarks are not simply historical, but in flux, constantly contested and revised as visitors pass by. Thus the placement of the thirty-foot-high Kelpies within an industrial-bucolic-aesthetic mélange provokes many uncertainties about temporality and place. Warden usefully argues that heterogeneity is a key component of the Scottish nation's sense of homeland, encompassing 'the people' and 'the individual', as well as both sides of the referendum debate.

In *Dance and class: an exploratory study of the social origins of ballet and contemporary dancers in Glasgow*, Lito Tsitsou's ethnographic study explores the social conditions of professional ballet and contemporary dance production in Glasgow. Through drawing on data gained from semi-structured interviews and utilising the conceptual tools of 'habitus', 'capital' and 'trajectories' of Pierre Bourdieu, Tsitsou adds to the burgeoning sociology of dance literature to consider the specific relationship between social class and dance career. The paper postulates that social, cultural, economic and educational assets, as derived from the familial background, assist the career trajectory of the professional dancer.

Based on Ben Fletcher-Watson's recent experiences collaborating with app developer Hippotrix and Catherine Wheels Theatre Company, *From stage to screen: adapting a children's theatre production into a digital toy* discusses the process of making *White The App*, a 'digital toy' aimed at children aged under five. This photo essay demonstrates the benefits, challenges and potential of adapting a Scottish theatre for early years (TEY) production into a transmedia digital toy for mobile tablet computers and smartphones.

Drawing on educational, dramaturgical and technological processes and practicalities, this highly topical paper explores the innovative and successful relationship between distinct collaborators: the PhD researcher, app development company and theatre company.

Two of Pina Bausch's most well-known dance performances are analysed by Lucy Weir in her article *Audience manipulation? Breaking the fourth wall in Pina Bausch's Kontakthof (1978) and Nelken (1982)*. Weir engages with themes of provocation and confrontation in Bausch's work, innovatively contrasting them with the slipperiness of authenticity in her choreography. The paradoxical interplay between direct address and dance's traditionally reserved spectators, for example, generates an original reading of both pieces, which Weir frames as inconsistently transgressive. Furthermore, she challenges descriptions of *Tanztheater* as identifiably theatrical in form, whether after Artaud or Grotowski, situating it more boldly as 'truly unique'. Thus Bausch is (re-)presented to her audience simultaneously as trickster and tease.

Bethany Whiteside provides a report into one of the dance world's most prestigious gatherings, held for the first time in Scotland. Her paper *Intersections between the academic and 'real' worlds of dance at the British Dance Edition 2014: a report* offers a scholarly account of this key event in the dance world's calendar—the industry showcase known as British Dance Edition (BDE). Just as BDE was spread across sites in both Edinburgh and Glasgow, so Whiteside contributes a wide-ranging reflection on dance in practice and in the academy. In particular, her focus on the showcase's curated discussions, rather than its performances, permits an extensive questioning of British dance history, training and styles, as opposed to an analysis of its current ephemeral forms. Such intersections (past and present, page and stage) ground the report in a tradition of

scholarly enquiry into practice, amplifying Whiteside's call for 'greater cohesion between the academic world of the dance scholar and the "real" world of the dance worker'.

This issue also contains reviews of recently published texts addressing performance from a variety of disciplines, including film, dance, music and theatre: Elisabetta Girelli reviews *Men's Cinema: Masculinity and Mise-en-Scène in Hollywood* by Stella Bruzzi; Andria Christofidou reviews *Embodied Politics: Dance, Protest and Identities* by Stacey Prickett; Bethany Whiteside reviews *Walking and Dancing: Three Years of Dance in London, 1951-53* by Lorraine Nicholas; Ralph Strehle reviews *Singing: Personal and Performance Values in Training* by Peter T. Harrison; and Ben Fletcher-Watson reviews *Reverberations across Small-Scale British Theatre: Politics, Aesthetics and Forms*, edited by Patrick Duggan and Victor Ukaegbu. The *Scottish Journal of Performance* welcomes proposals from scholars reviewing a performance-related text released in the past 12 months.

Lastly, we would like to thank the University of St Andrews, the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Anglia Ruskin University, the British Dance Edition 2014 team, the editorial team, advisory board, our peer reviewers, funders, and especially our authors.

BETHANY WHITESIDE AND BEN FLETCHER-WATSON
Co-editors, *Scottish Journal of Performance*

Home : the celebratory opening of the Kelpies at Helix Park, Falkirk

CLAIRE WARDEN

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At the heart of Falkirk's new Helix park, a reinvented green space to the west of Grangemouth oil refinery, stand two thirty-metre high statues. They are horses' (Kelpies') heads, the first bowed in a submissive, calm gesture, the second with muzzle pointed to the sky. Sculptor Andy Scott created these majestic pieces of public art as a tribute to the working horses of Scotland's industrial heritage. They opened in April 2014 with a spectacular event orchestrated by Uz Arts who commissioned pyrotechnic and lighting specialists Groupe F. The performance breathed a sense of dynamism into the sculptures leading to a series of questions about the complexion of the palimpsestic Scottish landscape, the intertwining of urban industrial and wild, untamed nature, and the relationship between Scotland's past and future, a vital enquiry in this year of referendum. This review aims to address these questions.

Keywords: public art, Groupe F, Uz Arts, landscape, site-specific performance



To the west of Grangemouth oil refinery in Scotland's Forth Valley lies the new Helix Park. It combines wetland, woodland, green space and purpose built paths and aims to connect the sixteen Falkirk communities that surround it. At the heart of the new park stand two thirty-metre high statues created by sculptor Andy Scott, positioned either side of the canal which runs through the park. Known as the Kelpies, Scott modelled them on two real working horses—Duke and Baron—envisaging a tribute to the animals that helped to build Scotland's industrial landscape. Scott refers to them as 'equitecture' (Scott, 2014), a fused word suggesting the natural form and shape of the horse combined with the intentionally designed characteristics of human-instigated construction. Uz Arts' celebratory night-time opening of the Kelpies in April 2014, entitled *Home*, was a performance-based reading of the sculptures and the Park. The company embedded these two elements (manufacture and nature) into their event, intentionally commenting on the palimpsestic characteristics of Scottish landscape and identity. This article reviews *Home* by addressing the primary questions engendered by Uz Arts' collaborative reading of the Helix Park and the Kelpies

sculptures.

Home celebrated both the official opening of the Kelpies and, more broadly, the Helix Park vision for an inclusive, open, communal space. However, it was also part of the inaugural John Muir Festival, eulogising a figure revered on both sides of the Atlantic as a prominent and influential conservationist. Furthermore, *Home* contributed to the year-long *Homecoming Scotland 2014*, a collection of events and festivals that is as much about welcoming international visitors (particularly those with historical connections to Scotland) as it is about providing nation-defining gatherings for the local populace. Ultimately the Chairman of VisitScotland rather cryptically defined the launch of the Kelpies as ‘a unique experience on the theme of Scotland—our Home’ (The Herald, 2014).

Home’s collation of meanings and intentions was mirrored in its profound and pleasing sense of fluid aesthetic multidimensionality. For example, road signs litter the park, informing travellers of the best ways in and out. One depicts a roundabout directing travellers towards the town, the football stadium, the oil refinery, and on to this sign was projected black-and-white film of a lost past: two figures digging for peat. The modern and the historical, the mechanical and the efforts of intense human labour, layered to form an ambiguous image of Scottish industry. This was augmented by peat fires lit along the route to the Kelpies which emitted an earthy, comforting, nostalgic smell. The artificial lights along waterside paths and the water sculptures in which children played initiated a similarly complex layering of meaning. The splashing noises of the water and the inorganic positioning of light again suggested an intricate relationship between the natural and the manufactured, a relationship extended by the stars which shone dimly in the encroaching murkiness of the night.

Walking along the paths and through these artistic interventions was a collegial experience. The crowd was diverse: Falkirk inhabitants keen to proudly celebrate their local park, inquisitive art-lovers from further afield, families, children, elderly folks, a subtle mixture of accents and cultures. The crowds confirmed the popularity and importance of public art. Reaching the Kelpies was cause for celebration and each fifteen-minute show met with applause.

As part of this event, Uz Arts commissioned French pyrotechnic and light specialists Groupe F to visually respond to the Kelpies. Groupe F are a collective who pride themselves on creating work with a 'strong communication value' (Groupe F, 2014), artistically responding to place and culture, demanding audience response which, in turn, changes the identity of the art object. In many ways Groupe F's multimedia celebration of the Kelpies reflected the identity, intentions and motives of the Helix Park more generally. The Park is defined as a 'Living Landmark' (The Helix, 2014); landmarks are customarily used to enable visitors or, more accurately, travellers to discern where they are. The Helix Park, therefore, is infused with a definitive sense of place, belonging and geographical specificity. Yet it is also living; it is not a monument to the past but is constantly changing and morphing as people engage with it. In a sense its intentions reflect the objectives of much site-specific performance, a mode Nick Kaye (2000, p.7) suggests, embodies a 'sense of mobility, of spaces and places defined in fluid, shifting and transient acts and relationships'. This sense of movement and interaction was integral to Groupe F's reading of site at the *Home* event.

These themes are embedded in the Helix Park more generally. As you approach the Kelpies, for example, the noise of motorway traffic provides a soundtrack. Quintessential emblems of moving modernity traverse the

area: pylons, canals, roads. The Helix Park is not a settled space and rejects the romantic notion of a disconnected rural idyll. Visitors are left in no doubt that this pastoral landscape is surrounded and, indeed, defined by its relationship to the industrial; as Raymond Williams (1993, p.297) suggests in his seminal *The Country and the City*, all places are inflected with changing socio-economic circumstances and it is vital to see the 'interrelations' rather than the contrasts between them.

In Helix Park visitors become wanderers in the landscape. The intertwining trails mean one does not walk in a straight line; the designers seemingly rejected the Taylorist patterns of industrial productivity with their focus on efficiency and minimal effort to, instead, produce a twisted volution of paths. This reflects the biological understanding of the helix as a spiralling, three-dimensional pattern and produces a complex understanding of space. Despite its proximity to the oil refinery, the logical order of industry is counteracted by the innate human need for imaginative adventure. Indeed this reflects the Helix Park's over-riding objectives to create a space for exploration, fun, learning and health (The Helix, 2014).

Perhaps the co-existence of industrial and natural led to the decision to name it 'Helix Park', the helix as a concept integral to mathematically scientific geometrical patterns, the anatomy of the human body and the aesthetics of buildings: a distinguishably multi-dimensional concept. The 'equitecture' of the Kelpies imbibes a similar sense of spatial and semiotic complexity. Their identity as working horses illustrates the concurrent relationship of industry and nature. In addition, Scott manufactured them from stainless steel plates connected to a metal skeleton that strongly resembles the pylons that criss-cross the park (Scott, 2014).

So how did Groupe F respond to this multifaceted

environment? What sort of site-specific performative gesture did the park and its Kelpies engender? What did this event say about Falkirk and its communities or, more broadly speaking, Scotland and its history? In calling the event *Home*, the organisers were clearly aiming to generate particular associations. But what sort of 'home' did the experience create? How did the performance develop the concept of 'home' from an indoor space of personal ownership to a shared outdoor 'homeland'? The answers reflect the experiential open-endedness of the event, the park and the Kelpies.

Groupe F played with this fluid sense of home in their response to the Kelpies. The performance began with the identifiable sounds of horses: neighs and whinnies, and hooves hitting the ground. At the base of the Kelpies two actors in light suits slowly walked, seemingly unafraid of the enormity of the sculptures or the frequent bolts of fire shot into the air from flame projectors set along the canal. Their recurrent presence made the Kelpies appear even larger and grander, although there was no sense of threat; rather, the dependable working horses seemed to be protecting the two frail human figures from the dangers of the fires.



The typical horse noises slowly merged into synthesised music which began softly. Projected diamond shapes lit the Kelpies, connoting tartan patterns. The rhythmic hooves became the bass beat for the music. Gradually the natural horse sounds were replaced entirely by the distinctly modern, electronic music, and the speed and frequency of the flares increased adopting set predictable rhythms. A change in the music was met by a change in projection, the Kelpies illuminated with a rippling blue effect. This blue was overtaken by a fiery red and Groupe F switched between these two elemental images until the end: the former mirroring the canals, the lakes, the wetlands of the Park and the nearby Firth of Forth, the latter complementing the pyrotechnics and the fires of the Grangemouth refinery which burn continuously in the distance. The drumming intensified in conjunction with the ferocity of the flares which now lit the Kelpies entirely, along with their pastoral / industrial backdrop of green space and trees, canals and pylons. The end was sudden and the audience were plunged back into the darkness that had begun the show.

Home presented a palimpsestic landscape, a Scotland of industry and beauty and nature and wilderness and manufacturing and assiduous work ethic. It overlaid the past and the present, the historical and the contemporary, and used myriad materials and elements to do so. The awesome Kelpies, those loyal working horses, exemplify all these characteristics and priorities, and Groupe F's transformation of Scott's sculptures accentuated this layering. However, in this year of referendum, the multifaceted and fluidly experiential image of home seemed to take on political overtones. What sort of 'home' might be created in 2014? How will it reflect on, move away from, or build on historical conceptions of Scottish identity and landscape? How will it negotiate the complexities of community and individuality, industrial and rural, the past and the potential future? Ultimately Groupe F's

performance of the Kelpies offered a creative, heterogeneous understanding of Scottish home that could be widely celebrated whichever way you vote.

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About the author

DR CLAIRE WARDEN is Senior Lecturer in Drama at the University of Lincoln. She completed her doctoral studies at the University of Edinburgh and Scottish performance remains central to her research enquiries. She is the author of *British Avant-Garde Theatre* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) and *Modernist and Avant-Garde Performance: An Introduction* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014). She is currently exploring the relationship between landscape and modernity, a dualism that is central to her forthcoming project *Migratory Modernist Performance: British Theatrical Travels to Russia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Audience manipulation? Subverting the fourth wall in Pina Bausch's *Kontakthof* (1978) and *Nelken* (1982)

LUCY WEIR

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Pina Bausch's Tanztheater breaks everyday behaviour into its most elemental fragments, and fundamental aspects of stage etiquette are constantly challenged, not least the barrier between performer and spectator known as the fourth wall. Accordingly, the hierarchy of the theatre space is thrown into question, and the audience's preconceived notions of boundaries, appropriate behaviour and expectations are left open ended. In the following article, two case study examples of Bausch's works—Kontakthof ('Meeting Place', 1978) and Nelken ('Carnations', 1982)—have been selected in order to demonstrate the range of techniques Bausch employs in manipulating the fourth wall. Both are lengthy in duration and extremely complex, layered works of dance theatre, illustrating Bausch's varied methods of audience manipulation at what I have identified as a 'golden period' in her career. This article explores the process of audience manipulation through Bausch's peripatetic use of the fourth wall, illustrating that, as dance theatre has evolved, the performance event has become increasingly confrontational and direct, engaging with the audience in a more provocative manner, and calling into question the limits of the theatre space.

Keywords: dance, Tanztheater, Pina Bausch, fourth wall

Introduction

The barrier that separates the audience from performer is a fundamental element of conventional theatrical practice. In the context of much of the avant-garde dance produced throughout the twentieth century, this invisible distinction known as the fourth wall tended to remain unbroken, aiding in the viewer's willing suspension of disbelief; the spectator became a passive observer in this ultimately rather conformist model. However, in the second half of the century, a number of avant-garde theatre makers began to reject the use of this device, with some renouncing the fourth wall entirely. Peter Handke's 1966 work, *Publikumsbeschimpfung* ('Offending the Audience'), is a striking example of completely plotless theatre, in which the performers address the audience directly throughout, continually reminding them that they are not watching a play, and that none of their theatrical expectations will be satisfied.

Confronting the audience is now a standard element of performance vocabulary in contemporary theatre practice; however, in the *Tanztheater* of German choreographer Pina Bausch, while performers regularly transgress the boundary between the stage and the audience with sudden or unexpected gestures, the fourth wall is subsequently reinstated, and the process of removal and reinsertion is repeated throughout her durational works. Bausch's approach is unique in its array of potential meanings; it transgresses the concept of audience immersion, blurring the boundaries of narrative theatre and personal interaction between performer and spectator. This article seeks to create a new framework for understanding the ways in which Bausch's work tests the limits of theatrical space, going beyond the approaches of Bertolt Brecht and Antonin Artaud, and explores the extent to which Bausch's spectator is made an active participant in the spectacle through the shifting of boundaries between fiction and (seeming) reality.

Reading Bausch's methods

Bausch's inclination to turn the house lights on the audience was an early manifestation of her subversive approach to the fourth wall, a device she used for the first time in her controversial work, *Blaubart* (1977). *Blaubart*, alongside the *Macbeth-Project* which premièred a year later, were landmark productions in the development of her new creative process¹; in this fragmentary method, Bausch began to think in terms of questions rather than simply choreographing movements. *Blaubart* embodies many of the defining elements of Bausch's approach to theatre, merging dance and elements of traditional drama with pantomime and even opera. The action is constantly interrupted by a cassette player recording; indeed, the soundtrack (a copy of Bartók's opera referenced in the title) determines the course of the action, almost like an elaborate game of musical chairs. Bausch's *Blaubart* breaks from recognisable narrative structures, taking place in an alternative realm where time can be stopped and started, replayed or looped. This production was a dramatic break from Bausch's previous works, such as *Orpheus und Eurydike* and *Das Frühlingsopfer* ('The Rite of Spring') (both 1975), which were structured and choreographed according to recognisable narrative patterns.

Rather than immersing themselves in identifiable characters, Bausch's performers consistently blur the boundary between themselves and their stage personae. That the dancers regularly refer to one another by their own names on stage represents an expression of this character conflation—thus, the distinction between artist and artistic persona is blurred. This device contravenes not only the rules of classical ballet, but largely of dance as a theatrical form. There are, of course, much earlier modern dance exceptions to this tenet, including Mary Wigman's *Totenmal* ('Call of the Dead') (1930) and Martha Graham's *Deaths and Entrances* (1943), as well as postmodern examples including Anna Teresa de Keersmaecker's *Elena's Aria*

(1984), all of which experimented with the use of spoken word. However, Bausch's use of the device transcends more common applications of voice in dance performance; Bausch's dancers go a step further when they directly address the audience. Still more unsettling are the moments in which the performers simply make eye contact with the spectators, drawing them, not necessarily willingly, into the alternative world that they inhabit. This device is effectively employed in *Two Cigarettes in the Dark* (1985), where, after declaring the respective 'prices' for different parts of their bodies, two female dancers stare directly into the eyes of nearby audience members for several minutes in complete silence. The connection is finally disrupted when one of the women shrugs, smiling, to announce that the intermission has already begun. This simple action is deeply unnerving, leading the spectator to question their role as passive observer of an action that is designed to occur within the boundaries of the stage.

David Price (1990, p.322) has observed that there is a weakness in critical writing on Bausch's work in its reliance upon Brechtian terminology; he argues that, because of the reliance on viewing her work through this framework, there is no viable vocabulary with which to analyse her pieces, but that:

What distinguishes Bausch, however, is her development of an art form based upon a binary opposition that does not reproduce an either/or dichotomy; instead, Bausch's productions are both dance and theater. Hers is an art form that rejects a totalizing Wagnerian vision in favor of a dialectical theatricality.

Bausch's *Tanztheater* is a conflation of modern dance and avant-garde theatre practice; the relationship between performer and spectator is constantly shifting, clear narratives are put in place and quickly discarded, and

choreography is broken down into incessantly repetitive abstractions of everyday movement. Bausch formulated a new language of dance theatre, a methodology that transcends Brechtian concepts of performance. In a similar vein to Price's observation, we may consider Gabrielle Cody's (1998, p.119) comment that:

[Bausch's] tanztheater plays require a multilingual spectatorship, an alternate willingness to see and hear, which is why attempts to encompass her work are inevitably refracted through the graffiti of this century's most radical theories of performance: Artaud's cruelty, Brecht's alienation, Grotowski's confrontation, and Schechner's environmental theatre.

Elizabeth Wright (1988) has constructed an interpretation of Bausch's work in relation to the legacy of Brechtian theatre, applying a range of associated theories, including the alienation effect, to her creative method. However, in this article I have consciously avoided reading Bausch through such established theatrical convention. It is my contention that Bausch's *Tanztheater* cannot fit neatly into an Artaudian or Brechtian conception of theatre; rather, her particular method stands independently. The majority of Bausch's extensive oeuvre inhabits a distinctive and personal vision of theatre, one that, when first presented to the public, was unique in the context of twentieth-century dance.

***Tanztheater* and manipulation**

A significant proportion of critical writing on *Tanztheater* has attempted to define Bausch's primary motivation. Writers such as Marianne Goldberg (1989) have focused heavily on issues of gender and violence in her choreography, while Heidi Gilpin (1997) has explored issues

relating to cultural identity and the legacy of fascism in Bausch's work. In her obituary for the choreographer, Susan Manning (2010) details her shifting understanding of Bausch's relationship to the German postwar experience, asserting that the company's extensive touring schedule impacted enormously on the development of modern dance both in Europe and in the United States. Manning (2010, p.11) goes so far as to call her, 'one of, if not *the* most influential choreographer of late-20th-century globalization'. There is no single factor that can be said to motivate the diverse range of works in Bausch's legacy. In the works chosen as case studies for this discussion, the line between humour and tragedy or violence is often very thin, and the dancers transgress the audience's expectations not only of appropriate comic or dramatic performance, but also of the physical boundaries of the stage itself.

Tanztheater is a highly individualistic format, and the creation of these large-scale works required a level of trust between Bausch as choreographer and her cast. Compared to the workings of a traditional dance company, the relationship between Bausch and the dancers was very intimate, almost familial in nature. In her creative processes, Bausch required a demanding degree of engagement and personal sacrifice from her dancers, delving into their childhood memories and personal histories to compose her works. This was an intricate and deeply personal method, one in which the dancers acted as co-creators of the company's entire repertoire.

Bausch referred to ordinary, routine occurrences as constant motifs. The conventions of classical ballet are frequently revisited and given the same treatment, signalling a form of artistic protest against classical dance. The ballet class itself falls into the category of the more general 'everyday' experience that Bausch distorted; after all, for professional dancers, the ballet class is an

indispensable daily ritual. Consider, for instance, the infamous pointe shoe sequence in her 1986 work, *Viktor*: a dancer enters the stage holding a package of meat, a stool, and a pair of satin pointe shoes. She barks at the audience, 'das ist Kalbfleisch!' ['this is veal!'], before stuffing her shoes with slices of meat. The woman proceeds to dance *en pointe* for a full seven minutes, her heavy breathing audible even over the deafening classical soundtrack². A significant marker of the everyday ballet routine—in this case, the pointe shoe—is made ludicrous by the deconstruction of its use. Instead of traditional lambswool padding, here the dancer wraps her feet in bloody veal steaks, an overt allusion to the pain and disfigurement a classical dancer must suffer for the beauty of her art. At the same time, the audience is tacitly involved in the act; addressed directly by the dancer, the spectator is forced to reconsider any preconceived notions regarding the illusionism of classical ballet.

The following case studies—*Kontakthof* ('Meeting Place') (1978) and *Nelken* ('Carnations') (1982)—have been selected in order to show the range of techniques Bausch employs in manipulating the fourth wall. Both are lengthy in duration and are complex, layered works of dance theatre, which demonstrate Bausch's varied methods of audience manipulation during what I consider the 'golden period' of her career, something Kate Elswit (2013, p.217) calls 'vintage Bausch'. Elswit takes issue with the strong bias exhibited by many critics towards her earlier work, some citing her later pieces as indicative of a 'mellowing' technical approach. I contest this, however; by the late 1970s Bausch had established a new and distinctive approach to dance, and the works selected for discussion in this paper are emblematic of the maturation of her genre-defying style.

Case study I: *Kontakthof* (1978)

The stage design of *Kontakthof* reflects the style of an old-fashioned dance hall, and a sense of faded grandeur permeates the piece³. The dancers are clad in similarly outdated eveningwear, though this choice of apparel is not unusual for Bausch; throughout her work, Bausch's dancers are often costumed as if attending a formal event, and she once stated, 'I never create pieces for leotards' (quoted in Servos, 2008, p.238). The setting of *Kontakthof* is slightly melancholic; the stage space is almost like a box containing snapshots of times past, with the cast endlessly playing out the same cycles of childish games and spiteful relationships. The title of the work, which can be translated simply as 'meeting place,' could even refer to the negotiation 'salon' of a brothel, with a warped intimacy reflected in the performers' flirtatious interactions with one another; the dancers enact a very public and at times uncomfortable quest for intimate contact. Royd Climenhaga (2009, p.66) argues that the theme of prostitution implied by the title is a metaphor for 'the prostitution of dancers on the stage', observing that the title was only chosen halfway through the choreographic development of the work. Hedwig Müller and Norbert Servos (1979, p.69) state that this piece continues the 'stylistic development' of Bausch's method initiated in the *Macbeth-Project*, although they note that, in this work, 'the reality of the production of theatre activity is explored more starkly here; it becomes the defining theme of the piece'.

From the very beginning of *Kontakthof*, the fourth wall is broken down as the dancers consciously display themselves one body part at a time to the audience; they present themselves as if standing in front of an audition panel. According to Climenhaga (2009), Bausch devised the sequence by asking her dancers to present the parts of their bodies they most disliked; hair is scraped back from their faces, and each individual stands facing the audience with teeth bared in an emotionless grimace. It is a particularly

unusual opening scene, with the dancers appearing expressionless and listless. Recalling his first experience of watching *Kontakthof*, Climenhaga (2009, p.69) claimed that the eye contact between dancer and spectator was extremely unsettling: 'that direct gaze was exposing, and exposure always feels self-consciously personal'. However, the direct relationship between audience and performer is not maintained consistently; Bausch's dancers alternate between interacting with their audience and retreating into their own self-contained world on stage. At one point, a screen is lowered and the company assemble to watch a short documentary film. Their backs are to the audience, and the spectator is placed in the unusual position of observing the objects of their gaze now in the role of spectators themselves.

The physical structure of *Kontakthof* is built upon small gestures of self-consciousness that escalate into more aggressive movements, as awkward shuffling and tweaking give way to pinching and slapping. The dancers critique one another, playing out impressions of a rehearsal throughout the performance itself, distorting the boundaries between what could be considered 'real' (the rehearsal process) versus 'unreal' (the choreographed performance event). The male / female courtship ritual is played out almost painfully; a woman bites her partner's ear; a man grabs a woman's hand and roughly yanks her fingers backwards; another pulls the hair from his partner's head while their fellow performers limply applaud. While a couple appear locked in a seemingly loving embrace, a glance at their feet reveals that the woman is grinding the high heel of her shoe into her partner's foot. This childish cruelty is what Norbert Servos (2008, p.69) called 'affectionate violence and violent affection', while Cody (1998, p.122) notes:

Bausch openly confronts the complicated motivations of our desire as spectators and explores the genesis of performative acts by

examining the power relations underlying representation. A woman in *Kontakthof* asks a male member of the audience for a quarter in order to ride the electric hobby horse on the side of the stage; this brief negotiation and her subsequent performance of sexualized passivity in which she blankly gazes at the audience as she rocks to the horse's artificial cadence expose the tacit rules of a representational economy which regards femininity as a compulsory public service.

The boundaries between the performance space and the audience are inconsistently maintained throughout this work. In the example cited above, the dancer speaks directly to the audience, requesting a favour, but in the short sequences of cruelty and spitefulness, the audience is excluded and once more relegated to passive observer. At one point, two dancers prance gaily in the background while a man attempts to conceal his partner's limp, seemingly lifeless body. Nonetheless, he, along with the grinning women behind him, play to the crowd with exaggerated comic gestures. The spectator becomes an accomplice to the action, as the performers directly address the audience, often making and maintaining eye contact with individual viewers.

This complicity, as well as the increasingly aggressive search for intimacy (the *Kontakt* of the title), reaches its conclusion with the piece's controversial closing sequence. A woman stands centre stage, surrounded by male dancers who tenderly stroke her. What begin as gestures of consolation become increasingly heavy-handed, until gentleness gives way to outright physical abuse. Meryl Tankard (quoted in Jennings, 2010), a former company member who performed this role, admitted that she often spontaneously wept during this part of the piece, and that, 'it felt like being raped'. Throughout this sequence, the woman gazes out at the audience, once again breaking the fourth wall to unsettling effect, as the passive spectators become

complicit in the action; through their inactivity, they 'allow' the men's abuse to continue for a duration of more than seven minutes, after which the performers exit, leaving the stage in darkness. The audience is left in the dark to reflect on their collective permissiveness, as an accusatory air hangs over the now empty stage.

Ramsey Burt (1995) argues that there are two ways of reading this scene—that the men are at once committing an act of violence, but also clinging to the woman in search of some kind of tenderness themselves. Their gestures begin as gentle reassurances, and eventually became more violent and forceful. It is this interplay of violence and longing that characterises an enormous quotient of Bausch's oeuvre. Indeed, loneliness and longing feature heavily in the many direct addresses to the audience throughout *Kontakthof*; open pleas seeking to transcend the barriers put in place by the fourth wall. At one point, a dancer (quoted in Servos, 2008, p.68) announces:

I stand on the edge of the piano and threaten to fall, but before I do it, I scream, so that no-one can miss it, then I crawl under the piano and peek out, and do it as if I want to be alone, but actually I want someone to come to me.

Bausch's inconsistency in maintaining the fourth wall is problematic; without a clear boundary, the audience is left unsure of its role. Performers regularly address the spectator, yet in the uncomfortable and lengthy final scene there is no clear direction for the audience member—whether to stand up and intervene, or to accept that the fourth wall has been put back in place. It is this vacillating attitude to the boundaries between spectator and performer that exemplify Bausch's technique. In her *Tanztheater*, not even the seasoned theatregoer can be completely confident in the validity of their passive enjoyment of the spectacle.

Case study II: *Nelken* (1982)

Unlike the austere setting of *Kontakthof*, *Nelken* is a visually arresting work from the outset⁴. The stage is entirely covered in pink and white carnations, and dancers wear brightly coloured dresses or smart suits; later several of the male dancers reappear in silk dresses. A smiling woman, clad only in high-waisted white briefs, crosses the stage carrying an accordion. Contradicting audience expectation, in her various appearances on stage, she never once plays the instrument. The surreal and striking visual impact of a stage bedecked in flowers and the playfulness of the performers creates a dreamlike sensation of innocence, something that is tempered by the presence of police dogs and their minders patrolling the stage, as well as a sinister Master of Ceremonies, who periodically interrupts the dancers to check their passports and papers. A similar figure features in *Kontakthof*, regularly interrupting the action to note the heights and dimensions of the dancers. Everything is measured, noted, filed, every action recorded; in these two works devised in the period of the Cold War, the Master of Ceremonies acts as an allusion to the surveillance states of both the Third Reich and GDR. It is in *Nelken's* alternately ethereal and nightmarish vision of a Garden of Eden that Bausch directly addresses the paranoia of the police state—as Cody (1998, p.116) interprets it, 'barking German [S]hepherds reined-in by ominous guards patrol the false Arden of *Tanzabend Nelken*, recalling images of Nazi Germany'.



Image courtesy of Tanztheater Wuppertal Pina Bausch.
Photograph by Oliver Look.

The eponymous carnations invite a dichotomous response from the audience, being reminiscent of celebratory as well as funerary flower arrangements. The overpowering scent of the flowers is perhaps the first instance of the boundary between audience and performer being transgressed, as there is no way to escape their strong perfume. The use of organic material onstage is an important characteristic of Bausch's work, introduced by her partner and stage designer Rolf Borzik (Bausch, 2007), and used to notable effect in works such as *Frühlingsopfer* (1975, soil), *Arien* ('Arias') (1979, water), and *1980—Ein Stück von Pina Bausch* (1980, turf). Elements of nature and the world outside the theatre are blended into the stage space and become part of the surreal environment of Tanztheater Wuppertal; while many critics have noted the visual spectacle of a stage adorned with flowers, the use of scent as a transgressive device has not yet been explored in detail.

Like *Kontakthof*, *Nelken* is a work rich in contrast, depicting the search for love in an often hostile, divided world. Lighter moments are juxtaposed with the menacing guard dogs, the Gestapo or Stasi-like Master of Ceremonies, and the actions of the dancers themselves, who, throughout, break the sanctity of the fourth wall to address, confront, or plead with the audience. At one point, dancers leave the stage and wander into the audience, asking individual spectators for a moment of their time, as if, Servos (2008, p.98) states, 'to discuss something personal or to exchange secret intimacies'.

Throughout its two-hour duration, *Nelken* oscillates between humour and menace. One reviewer (Grieman, 2000, p.417) has commented, 'while the humour undercut the foreboding atmosphere, in Bausch's work, freedom and play are never far from the spectre of state control'. Power play is a significant theme, and while the imagery of violence is not overtly explicit in this piece, it materialises in

the increasing force necessary for creating the boundaries of power and control. This implication of violence or cruelty helps to shatter the barrier that separates performers and audience; again, Bausch is inconsistent in her use of the fourth wall as a device, leaving the audience uncertain of how real the violence being played out onstage might be.

In a startling sequence, four stunt men (their professional skills unknown to the audience) scale the back wall of the stage before leaping off from a great height, watched by a dancer who tries in vain to draw her companions' attention to a possible disaster unfolding. When she is ignored by the other members of the company, she turns to the audience, seemingly hysterical and begging for help. Here, the stunt men not only put themselves quite genuinely at risk of physical injury, but also shake the audience from their passive enjoyment of the performance. In doing so, the men also startle the ever-present dogs at the corners of the stage; as Phillippa Wehle (1984, p.417) indicates, 'the guard dogs will not let the performers cross the line between fiction and life, nor will the Master of Ceremonies'. Throughout this work, the dancers continually commit minor acts of masochism: a woman tickles a man's feet until he is nearly hysterical; another frantically chops up an enormous pile of onions that he subsequently rubs into his own eyes. Again, the powerful scent of the onions transgresses the fourth wall, entering into the realm of the spectator. Servos (2008) compares this to the theatrical technique of using onions to generate false tears; thus, this small but unpleasant gesture represents another facet of Bausch's tendency to open up the mechanical elements of theatre, asking the audience to decide what is 'real' and what is merely performed. Anita Finkel (1991, p.4) observes that:

Bausch will not allow us to deny nature, and we respond with anger. There are those who stay completely away from Bausch's theater because the spectacle of real flesh is too painful to bear,

and they're right to absent themselves—once inside, Bausch's sense of the body as vulnerable is inescapable.

One well-known scene from *Nelken* explores the issue of audience expectation, relating to Bausch's favoured theme of the ballet class. Longstanding company member Dominique Mercy, dressed in a pink silk slip, performs an increasingly complex sequence of ballet steps, directly addressing the audience to ask repeatedly, 'What else do you want?' He offers a range of challenging ballet exercises, though grows progressively angrier with the audience for 'wanting more'. Mercy's engagement with the audience becomes increasingly aggressive; thus, while he is seemingly being forced to perform, he takes out his anger on the audience for the expectations placed on dancers. The small cruelties associated with the dance world are revisited here, as in Bausch's other works, including the pointe sequence in *Viktor* mentioned earlier, and *Bandoneon* (1980), in which one dancer recalls a ballet teacher holding a cigarette lighter under her knee to force her extension higher. In *Nelken*, however, these cruelties become the audience's responsibility, as Mercy confronts the spectator with his frustration as a dancer who seemingly cannot live up to expectations. A similar theme is at play in Jérôme Bel's *Véronique Doisneau* (2004), in which the eponymous Paris Opera Ballet dancer discusses her career as a performer who was, in her own words, 'never a star'. As in Bausch's dramaturgy, there is a knowingness that underlies the performance; these particular memories are not selected at random, but emerge from a process of questioning and a longer period of structuring and reworking. Indeed, this process represents Bausch's unique and highly influential choreographic technique—there is nothing spontaneous in her dancers' movements or words, but the careful stage management of the working process is never immediately apparent to her audience.

Nelken represents a strange combination of elements: childish playfulness and a humorous exploration of the dance world are overshadowed by a darker edge of authoritarianism, ever present in the recesses of the stage; Luke Jennings (2010) describes it as '[a] flower-strewn battlefield of human misunderstanding'. This contrast is perhaps most conclusively illustrated when one female dancer runs back and forward across the stage, screaming hysterically; her shrieks permeate the accompanying soundtrack, an excerpt from Schubert's String Quartet No. 14, *Der Tod und das Mädchen* ('Death and the Maiden'). This uncomfortable sequence comes to an abrupt halt as another dancer enters the stage to address the audience directly with the line, 'I just wanted to say how wonderful it is that you're all here tonight'. In the laughter that inevitably follows, Bausch transgresses the fourth wall once more. On this occasion, however, in order to thank the audience for its participation, acknowledging the presence of the spectator in a direct manner only infrequently experienced in the contemporary performance context.

Conclusion

Movements in contemporary dance throughout the twentieth century continually sought to demonstrate the effort involved in its creation, in order to strip away the illusionistic qualities that had become so strongly associated with traditional forms. There is perhaps no more potent symbol of this tendency than Bausch's *Tanztheater*, in which her dreamlike choreographies seek to blur the boundaries between performer and spectator. In Bausch's postmodern dance theatre, while dancers may speak, either to one another or directly to the audience, their voices do not drive the narrative of the performance. Indeed, there is often a tendency to confuse the spectator further through their dialogues, whether they are nonsensical diatribes, requests for help, or amusing or painful anecdotes. Short vignettes,

often nonsensical or bizarre, move out of the stage environment, where they are safely 'contained', and into the audience. The role of the spectator is made active, and the understanding of reality as opposed to theatrical fiction is thrown into a degree of flux. Bausch's use of collage technique is an interesting link to Dadaist tendencies, something that is also evident in her use of non-linear narrative structures and repetition of individual gestures. However, this distinctive form of dance theatre should not be considered 'immersive' performance, in the sense that Gareth White (2012) has discussed; while Tanztheater Wuppertal's shows do invite a level of intimacy between spectator and performer, they nonetheless take place within the setting of a proscenium arch, and there is a tacit understanding that the actions onstage remain theatrical rather than openly and honestly confessional.

Gilpin (1997, p.175) observes that, 'Pina Bausch constructs performances in which the audience is presented with material that *appears* to be "events as they really occur"'. It is this fragile distinction between what appears to be an exploration of authenticity and the everyday, and the underlying truth of its fictionalisation that runs as a constant thread through Bausch's oeuvre. As her deconstructive method of dance theatre has evolved, the performance event has become increasingly confrontational and direct, engaging with the audience in a more challenging, sometimes provocative manner, and calling into question the very limits of the theatre space. This is perhaps the most influential element of Bausch's approach to postmodern performance practice, and her legacy is discernible in the work of artists such as Wim Vandekeybus, Lloyd Newson, and Mark Morris, as well as de Keersmaecker and Bel. Nevertheless, Bausch's (2007, p.10) own view was rather different; in her characteristically modest manner, she simply stated that: 'I never wanted to provoke. Actually, I only tried to speak about us'.

Notes

1. The full titles of these pieces are *Blaubart: Beim Anhören einer Tonbandaufnahme von Béla Bartóks Oper 'Herzog Blaubarts Burg'* ('Bluebeard: While listening to a tape recording of Béla Bartók's opera "Duke Bluebeard's Castle") and *Er nimmt sie an der Hand und führt sie in das Schloß, die anderen folgen* ('He takes her by the hand and leads her into the castle, the others follow'). The latter is more commonly referred to as the *Macbeth-Project*, as the title refers to a German translation of the stage direction 'Exeunt', from *Macbeth* I.vi.
2. Description derived from a recording of *Viktor* performed in Wuppertal on 10 December 1994, courtesy of the Tanztheater Wuppertal Pina Bausch archive. This scene was also used in Wim Wenders' 2011 film, *Pina*, where the sequence was performed outside an industrial estate near Wuppertal.
3. *Kontakthof* has subsequently been reworked with separate casts of teenagers and adults over the age of 65, after the original version was largely consigned to the historical repertoire of the Tanztheater Wuppertal. My analysis of the piece is drawn from a version recorded in Venice on 16 June 1985, held in the Tanztheater Wuppertal Pina Bausch archive.
4. This analysis of *Nelken* is based on the 4 October 2008 recording at the Schauspielhaus Wuppertal, courtesy of the Tanztheater Wuppertal Pina Bausch archive. Lines quoted from the performance were originally spoken in English.

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From stage to screen: adapting a children's theatre production into a digital toy

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This photo essay explores the adaptation of the Scottish theatre for early years (TEY) production White into a transmedia digital toy. In 2013, Catherine Wheels Theatre Company commissioned an app developer, Hippotrix, to create an app for mobile tablet computers and smartphones inspired by the world of White.

The paper outlines the process of creating White The App, including wire-framing, asset capture, sound recording, coding and prototyping. It also explores the impact of design decisions on dramaturgy and performativity, noting that digital media offer new possibilities for embracing non-linear storytelling while retaining key aspects of the live aesthetic.

Keywords: White, app development, iPad, theatre for early years

Introduction



*White in performance.
Image courtesy of Catherine Wheels Theatre Company,
copyright Douglas McBride.*

This paper explores the adaptation of Catherine Wheels' highly successful production *White* into a mobile app for Apple's iPad and iPhone. The theatrical version, created for children aged two to four and their families, has been performed more than 700 times around the world since its première at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in 2010, and has been translated into several languages, including French, Swedish, Welsh (*Gwyn, Cwmni'r Frân Wen*) and Norwegian (*Hvit, Barneteatret Vårt*). *White* may be the most successful non-commercial theatre for early years (TEY) production to date, in terms of audience figures.

The iPad, Apple's tablet computer, also emerged in 2010. In 2014, over 245 million tablet computers are projected to be sold worldwide (data from idc.com). In the USA, more than 25% of adults have purchased apps (an abbreviation of 'applications') for their children, and apps aimed at preschoolers now constitute a majority of education products in Apple's App Store (Shuler et al., 2012). A key factor in the success of tablet computers with the under-fives is that 'they cater for multiple competencies on a single

portable device. Users can switch at will between activities which promote varying skills, from literacy to hand-eye coordination, from joint attention to imitative role play' (Fletcher-Watson, 2013, p. 58).

In 2013, Catherine Wheels Theatre Company commissioned Hippotrix, a commercial app developer based in East Lothian, to create an app for mobile tablet computers inspired by the world of *White*. This paper outlines the process of creating *White The App* and explores the impact of design decisions on dramaturgy and performativity.

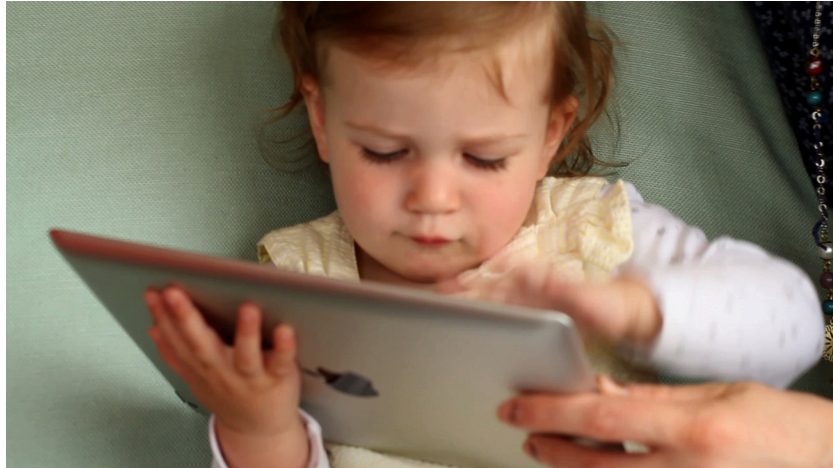
Brief

As producer Paul Fitzpatrick states, in seeking to create a digital artistic product, Catherine Wheels 'wanted to provide an experience that would be creative as well as reflecting the artistic integrity of the show' (Fitzpatrick, 2014). In addition, while the production of *White* is aimed at children from two to four, the developers were tasked with producing an app suitable for children from one to five, in order to increase appeal to families. The app was also to be playable on both iOS tablets (iPads) and smartphones (iPhones).

White The App was intended to complement the touring production, while also appealing to users who may never have seen it, the original narrative becoming a transmedia story. As Jenkins (2006, p.98) notes of other transmedia, '[e]ach franchise entry needs to be self-contained so you don't need to have seen the film to enjoy the game, and vice versa. Any given product is a point of entry into the franchise as a whole'. Indeed, a discrete product may even follow a unique narrative path 'to provide greater pleasure, excitement, and depth for fans' (Laurel, 2013, p.183). The brief thus allowed Hippotrix to develop interactive

scenarios derived from the mythology of *White*, but not copied directly from performed events.

A transmedia franchise consisting of an originator and its satellite derivatives can be considered as an 'augmented product [with] features and benefits beyond what the target audience normally expects' (Kotler and Scheff, 1997, p.193). This is an increasingly familiar model within the arts, and the augmentation process can be situated within the framework of Crealey's (2003) strategies for minimising risks for consumers of culture, in particular the proposal for a system of theatrical *product testing*, allowing potential spectators to access early versions of performance comparable with product prototypes. This 'try before you buy' approach reduces financial and emotional risk to the consumer, as it allows them to experiment with the artistic product at minimal cost before choosing whether to engage more fully. In the arts, it is already common for 'consumers [to] engage in risk-reducing (i.e. information-search) activities in order to reduce their perceived risk level (and therefore, their feelings of being uncomfortable)' (Dowling and Staelin, 1994, p.121), such as reading reviews in advance. However, transmedia may in fact stimulate a greater interest in the originator product than typical risk-reducing activities, as '[r]eading across the media sustains a depth of experience that motivates more consumption' (Jenkins, 2006, p.98).



*Child playing with iPad.
Image courtesy of Hippotrix.*

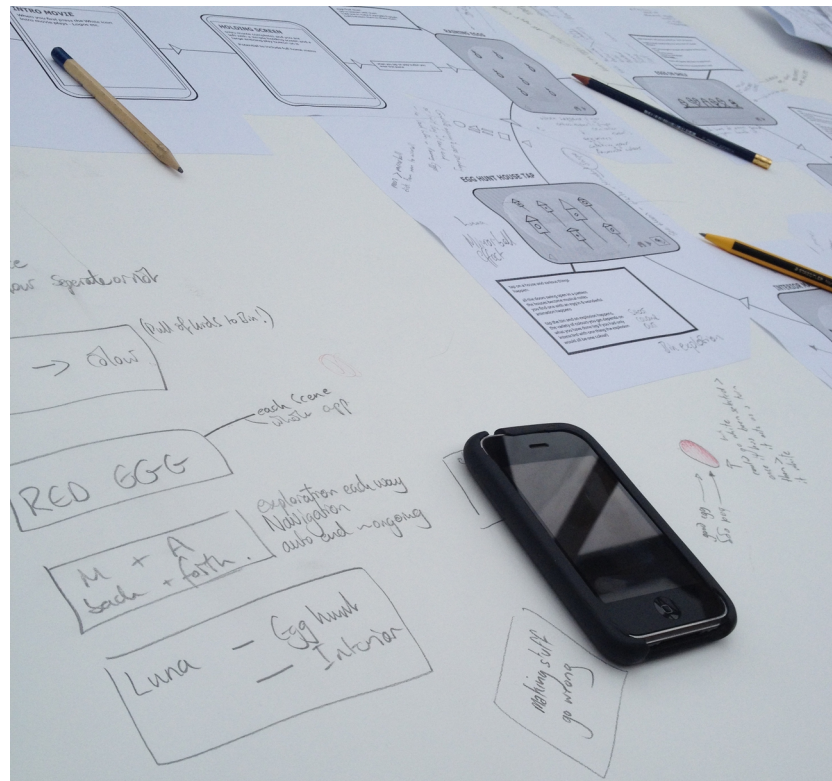
Digital toys

TEY has developed discrete forms, wholly distinct from theatre for older children, and arguably considerably more radical. The three commonest modes, albeit with considerable overlap, are interactive theatre (moments of pre-determined interaction or exchange between performer and audience), participatory theatre (performances wholly or in large part created by the audience) and promenade / immersive theatre (performances taking place in multiple sites, some of which may be virtual). It is possible to categorise existing digital formats within these modes: Wii and Kinect games¹ tend to permit interactivity, allowing certain behaviours to be expressed within defined limits, moving towards a pre-determined objective; mobile apps for the very young, such as those developed by Toca Boca and Kapu, tend to be participatory in form, often deferring defined goals in favour of infinite repetition (Stoll, 2013). Augmented reality and Google Glass are excellent potential systems for immersive theatre, although this has not yet been explored in depth (one notable exception being Fish & Game's iPad-based performance *Alma Mater* (2010) which imitated augmented reality within a real environment—by following a prescribed narrative path but lacking an explicit plot, the production provided an illusion of user control).

Just as a live performance is neither game nor story-text (although it can contain elements of both), so a theatrical app is not necessarily an 'as-live' video recording of the show, like *Met Opera On Demand* for the iPad or NT Live in cinemas (NESTA, 2011), nor a computer game with levels to be completed, nor an enhanced storybook with voiceover. The term 'digital toy' has come to be used to describe a more free-form playable scenario where the user is permitted to explore a virtual world (Lauwaert, 2009), arguably comparable to a participatory theatre experience². Like a physical toy, the user can interact with the components however they choose. There are no rewards for success nor penalties for failure, and the experience can last for as long as desired. The non-competitive, non-didactic, exploratory nature of digital toys appealed to the developers as the closest fit with both Catherine Wheels' live work and the capabilities of its audience.

Interaction design

Leiberman et al. (2009) have identified three examples of promising practice in digital design for very young children: media should be developmentally-appropriate, evidence-based and tested with children. This closely mirrors contemporary praxis within arts for early years, where productions are often inspired by specific developmental milestones, and / or rooted in child psychology, and almost always use invited audiences of children and caregivers to guide the devising process (Fletcher-Watson et al., 2014). Hippotrix' first design consideration was therefore defined by the age range specified for the app. The available interactions (meaning the control mechanisms for gameplay permitted by the iPad's touchscreen interface) were carefully considered, and a range of competitors' products examined, to ensure that all interactions would be accessible regardless of the user's age.



Early wireframe diagram of *White The App*.
Image courtesy of Hippotrix.

Typical interactions include *tap*, *swipe*, *tap-and-hold*, *pinch* and *multi-finger swipe*. Rarer interactions may include *rotate*, *speak* (via the integral microphone), *shake* (usually to reset) or *motion detection* (via the integral front-facing camera). Fewer than 20% of the early years apps surveyed employed any interactions other than *tap*, *swipe* and *tap-and-hold*, probably due to the more complex motor skills required to *pinch*, *rotate* and so forth. The decision was therefore made to limit controls in *White The App* to these three basic movements.

In addition, the interactions were not designed to build in complexity nor to comprise a given sequence, as is common in more educationally-centred products. In keeping with the tenets of digital toys, the app was designed to allow infinite gameplay within scenes. TEY performances often feature duplicated sequences to enhance engagement, as in *White*, where the second half closely matches the first. However,

they cannot repeat endlessly, whereas an app can permit immediate and constant repetition of any action, aiding understanding and laying the foundations for structured learning.

Development and user testing

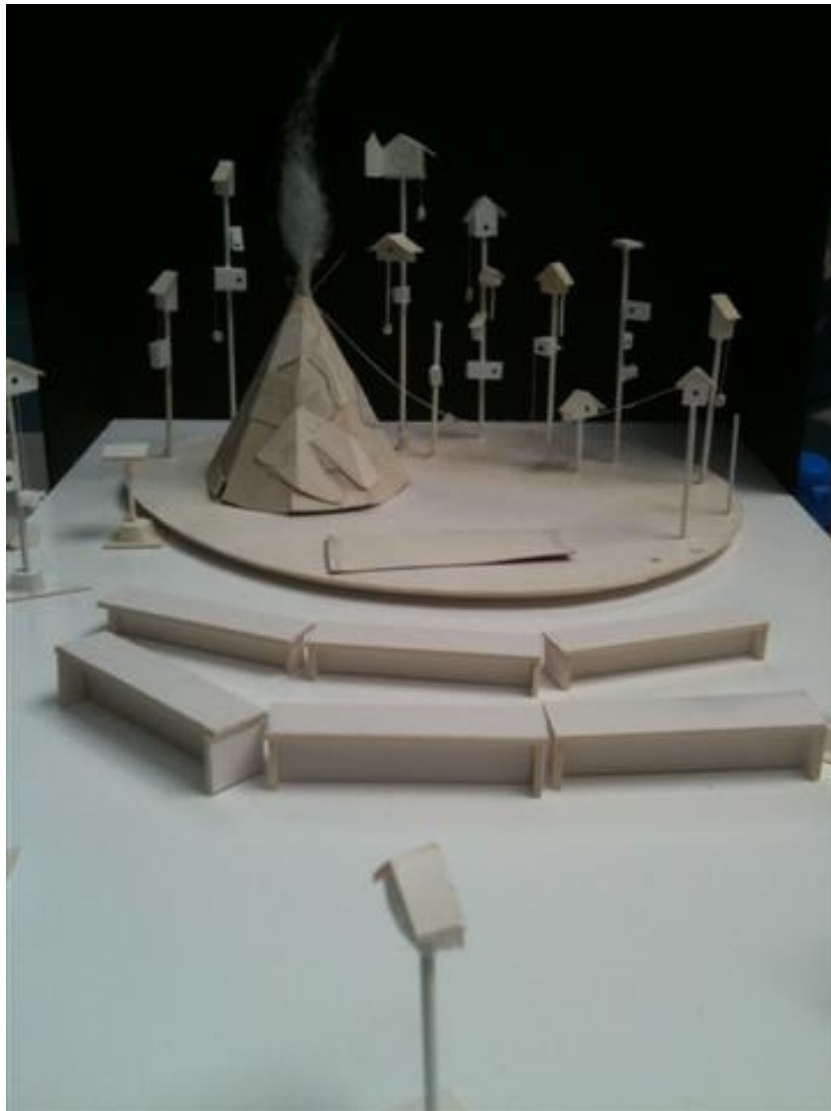
The use of real objects was a key design decision for *White The App* from the pre-production stage: just as original illustrations are often preserved in e-books, so theatre apps can choose to accurately retain the look and feel of live performance by employing physical assets used on stage. Original production design is thus preserved, but the experience also reinforces the link to 'liveness', going some way to inverting Auslander's claim that 'live performances now emulate mediatized representations' (2008, p.158). These are not animated cartoon versions of actors, props and scenery, but images of the real original objects themselves. Similarly, physics engines were employed to generate accurate reactions of objects as they are manipulated, bouncing off one another or stacking up (Millington, 2007).

Hippotrix achieved this photorealistic effect by the use of greenscreening (also known as chroma key photography), a simple way of isolating objects to allow them to be reused frequently throughout an app. Used for decades in film, animation, video games and television, greenscreening involves capturing an image of a specific object or person in front of a single-colour background (originally blue, but generally green since the advent of digital cameras). The background can then be removed in post-production and a new backdrop added (Wolf, 2003).



*Chroma key in White The App.
Image courtesy of Hippotrix.*

The benefit of chroma key is that the edges of the image are extremely crisp and detailed, unlike the effect produced by manually cutting out objects in photo-editing programs such as Adobe Photoshop. *White* revolves around two key sets of objects: eggs and birdboxes. The eggs were simple to isolate, having smooth edges, but Shona Reppe's award-winning design for each birdbox is a riot of detail—lace, wool, mirrors, pencils, shaggy carpet. Chroma key simplified the task of capturing such assets considerably.



*Maquette for White by Shona Reppe.
Image courtesy of Catherine Wheels Theatre Company.*

As one critic noted of the original production:

Great theatre design does not just illuminate its text, it adds to it. Shona Reppe's design and costumes for Catherine Wheels' *White* went one step further again. She created a white world of such invention that it could have existed on its own (Dibdin, 2011, p.1).

The app aimed to create a 'white world' encompassing objects, backgrounds and characters that would appeal to

users whether or not they had seen the production. However, the use of live actors in addition to original props was problematic. Aside from the issue of expensive rights for a performer's likeness, the necessity to record multiple versions of all possible interactions to accommodate a user-defined dramaturgy would have exceeded the budget available for the project. In addition, the time required to greenscreen an entire video sequence, as opposed to a single image, would have been too great. This was solved by placing the user in the position of characters Cotton and Wrinkle, rather than as a new character interacting with them. Thus they do not appear in person, but instead the user becomes their avatar, immersed in the recreated environment of the scenery and props: '[i]n digital gaming, the player is... viewing his or her own actions—the actions one's avatars carry out can be seen on the screen' (Vangsnes, 2009, p.31).



Andy Manley and Ian Cameron recording vocal parts for White The App. Image courtesy of Hippotrix.

Another means of preserving a performative link to the original production was to use the original actors and devisers, Andy Manley and Ian Cameron, as voice artists for the app. They created the sounds of chattering eggs, creaking doors and the occasional line from their characters, Cotton and Wrinkle respectively. Similarly, composer Danny Krass was engaged to extend the brief tracks he had created for the live show into loops which

could run behind the action for as long as required.

Via the development process, and in collaboration with the original production team, four scenes were selected for inclusion: the first depicts white eggs falling through cotton-wool clouds, with the occasional surprising appearance of a red egg; the second scene allows users to care for a number of eggs, applying sticking plasters, kisses, showers or woolly hats as necessary; the third sequence turns the seven birdhouses in which the eggs sleep into a playable piano; and the fourth reflects the production's finale with a colourful party atmosphere. In each case, elements of the live show were mixed with new concepts to create a self-contained scenario. In addition, the narrative links between scenes were kept deliberately tenuous, allowing for multiple interpretations.



Testing the app with young children and caregivers.

Within TEY, and indeed within the development process for the original production of *White*, testing with the target audience during rehearsals has emerged as an almost universal practice, unlike in adult theatre. App developers tend to conduct similar prototyping via mobile analytics testers such as TestFlight or HockeyApp, which also provide

crash reports and options for feedback. *White The App* was tested in January and February 2014, with users across the required age range and their caregivers providing responses prior to release. The prototype app was presented to users in both domestic and nursery settings. Individual play and verbal feedback were recorded simultaneously on video, while carers were invited to submit comments via email. The testing phase had a significant impact on the app, from the timing of certain sequences to the addition of new assets. For example, in the third scene, younger users expressed frustration with the relatively small target areas which triggered music effects, so the decision was made to respond to taps anywhere on the screen with new sounds, such as an owl hooting. The birdhouses still played specific piano notes when touched, but the backdrop of the night sky also became playable. An iterative post-production process of bug-fixing, amending scenes based on user feedback, and streamlining was then used to complete the app, which launched in March 2014.

Problematising traditional modes of performativity

Virtual space and interactive video games offer new dramaturgical possibilities, while also drawing on and provoking the interactivity of the theatre event (Turner and Behrndt, 2008, p.198).

The app format allows users to explore performance in new ways which a live experience cannot facilitate. For example, *White*, unusually among TEY productions, employs a linear narrative, albeit one that is repeated; like *Waiting for Godot*, the second act mirrors the first closely, emphasising the impact that an outside force can have on a closed world where change is alien. The decision was made to move away from narrative in the app, instead presenting the user with agency to explore a series of discrete scenes with only

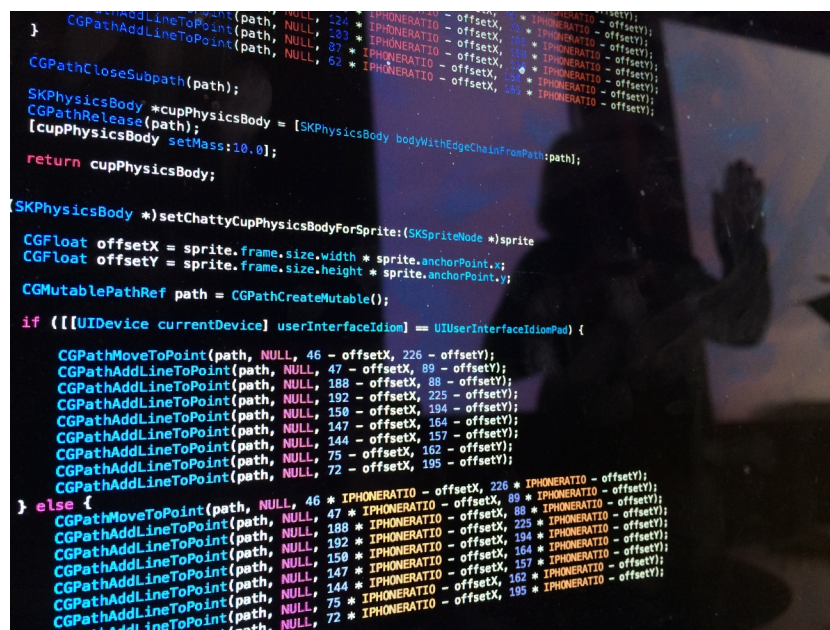
tenuous connections to one another (and then perhaps only for users who have seen the production). As a digital toy, *White The App* rejects traditional forms of digital storytelling in favour of a repeatable (post)dramaturgy drawn from TEY: 'when the user is allowed freedom of action the usual laws of linear expression drama no longer apply' (Aarseth, 1997, p.138). Users may play in a single scene endlessly, or skip scenes entirely. It should again be noted however that the original production does not employ such a dramaturgy—the decision to fragment the narrative in the app was made due to the expanded age range required, from one to five years, in order to grant agency to the youngest users, even if they engage only in a single activity.

In addition, gameplay is defined and restricted by the allowable rules of the 'closed world' system—the user cannot speed up or slow down the descent of the eggs, for example, or carry out an action which has not been explicitly designed into the app (see for example Salen and Zimmerman 2006). Indeed, Huizinga's (1955, pp.10-12) compendious study of play describes this necessary limiting of agency in numerous contexts:

All play moves and has its being within a playground marked off beforehand either materially or ideally, deliberately or as a matter of course... the stage, the screen, the tennis court, the court of justice, etc., are all in form and function playgrounds, i.e. forbidden spots, isolated, hedged around, hallowed, within which special rules obtain. All are temporary worlds within the ordinary world, dedicated to the performance of an act apart.

As in a physical playground, the user can elect to play with any item in any order, but they are limited to the items provided by the underlying code (Kline and Dyer-Witheford, 2003). This can usefully be compared to the post-

performance session after *White*, when children are allowed to meet the actors and play with coloured confetti in the auditorium but may not enter the ‘forbidden spot’ of the stage to examine the props and set more closely. The app by contrast grants the opportunity to investigate these items at no risk to the child or the performance, although it does not grant agency to deconstruct the objects. The user’s interactions are purposely modelled on Cotton and Wrinkle’s actions, not those of an inquisitive child. Thus they may open doors or kiss eggs, but may not drop an egg to see what happens. Here, interaction is dramaturgically defined.



```
CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 124 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 15 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 103 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 15 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 27 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 15 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 62 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 15 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
CGPathCloseSubpath(path);
SKPhysicsBody *cupPhysicsBody = [SKPhysicsBody bodyWithEdgeChainFromPath:path];
CGPathRelease(path);
[cupPhysicsBody setMass:10.0];
return cupPhysicsBody;

(SKPhysicsBody *)setChattyCupPhysicsBodyForSprite:(SKSpriteNode *)sprite
CGFloat offsetX = sprite.frame.size.width * sprite.anchorPoint.x;
CGFloat offsetY = sprite.frame.size.height * sprite.anchorPoint.y;
CGMutablePathRef path = CGPathCreateMutable();
if ([[UIDevice currentDevice] userInterfaceIdiom] == UIUserInterfaceIdiomPad) {
    CGPathMoveToPoint(path, NULL, 46 - offsetX, 226 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 47 - offsetX, 89 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 188 - offsetX, 88 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 192 - offsetX, 225 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 150 - offsetX, 194 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 147 - offsetX, 164 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 144 - offsetX, 157 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 75 - offsetX, 162 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 72 - offsetX, 195 - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 46 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 226 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
} else {
    CGPathMoveToPoint(path, NULL, 46 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 89 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 47 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 88 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 188 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 225 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 150 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 194 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 147 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 164 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 144 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 157 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 75 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 162 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 72 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 195 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
    CGPathAddLineToPoint(path, NULL, 46 * IPHONERATIO - offsetX, 226 * IPHONERATIO - offsetY);
}
```

*Excerpt of code from White The App.
Image courtesy of Hippotrix.*

Johanson and Glow (2011, p.66) have critiqued digital storytelling as uninspiring and limiting a child’s imagination:

[Rose] Myers [of Windmill Theatre in Australia] finds that theatre plays a role in inspiring the imagination in a way that screen-based activities, with their use of computer-generated imagery, do not... [quotation from Myers] ‘we’re requiring you to work a lot harder because we can’t give

you all the special effects. I think that nurtures children's own creativity because it's much closer to the way that kids themselves play games and create things, make up stories and act them out. So it engages children and shows them the possibilities'.

Lauwaert (2009, p.21) notes that comparisons between the physical and the digital tend to result in simplistic binary oppositions such as small-scale personal play versus massive online / social play or tactility versus 'isolated, immobile and escapist play'. However, in the case of digital theatre, these binaries may become blurred—for a user who has seen the performance, the experience of interacting with familiar photorealistic assets (as opposed to computer-generated images) within an replayable dramaturgy not only reproduces the source materiality as faithfully as possible, but also allows the user to delve deeper into the narrative and aesthetic than was possible when spectating in the theatre: picking it apart and re-ordering it at will. For users who have not yet seen the live version, the scenes may inspire a unique personal narrative journey which moves beyond the fixed dramaturgy of the performance.

A more pertinent critique is offered by Plowman and McPake's (2013, p.31) assessment of the limitations of digital interaction in e-books:

The touch screen and gestural interface, the portability and easy share-ability offer new dimensions of interactivity but... some apps simply reproduce tired versions of electronic books rather than exploit the affordances of the medium. Technological interactivity is meagre compared to human interaction... An electronic book that reads the words out one at a time or asks children to point to a picture with the stylus and then says "well done" cannot simulate the experience of adult-child conversations.

The creation of an e-book app telling the story of *White* was abandoned early in pre-production in favour of the digital toy format, but the 'meagre' interactivity of digital narratives was observed within competitor products. Here, the decision to situate the user as an avatar of Cotton or Wrinkle not only delineates the dramaturgy of the app as noted above, but also transforms the user into what Ryan (2001, p.17) has called 'the interactor [who] performs a role through... physical actions, thus actually participating in the physical production of the text'. The digital gestures of the child construct the identity of the pre-existing character without the need for the original actor to be present. Instead, the objects which represent their role are made available to the user to play with as they wish. The app can thus be said to trouble performativity, rejecting a diegetic narrativism equivalent to 'reading out the words' in favour of a mimetic digital presence.

It is interesting briefly to consider the ways in which performativity in the Butlerian sense is also blurred by this transformation from spectator to interactor. The visually-gendered stage action (both protagonists are male) of the live version becomes more fluid in the app, where the interactor may be female or male, or indeed a mixture of genders if several children are playing together. Previous spectators may remember that they are embodying a male avatar, but users new to the cultural product of *White* are given no hints as to their digital gender. Similarly, their actions lack an overtly gendered frame—opening a door is neither stereotypically male nor female, for example—so the user is left to construct meaning without the semiotic certainties granted by spectatorship: before or after they engage with the app, a child may or may not see two men act out the story of *White* in a theatre, and this may (or may not) impact on the performativity of the digital act.

Returning to Plowman and McPake's appraisal of current

technologies, their challenge to developers to pursue a more profound interactivity is in fact extended to those products (generally but not exclusively educational) which are used by a child alone. The use of electronic media of all kinds, from DVDs to iPads, as ‘digital babysitters’ has received considerable media attention (Cocozza, 2014; Donnelly, 2013; Dredge, 2013), but there is little to justify this beyond anecdote (Wood, 2008). *White The App*, like the production, is designed as a shared experience, for children and carers to enjoy together. It is possible to compare shared experiences with the pedagogic model of guided interaction (Plowman and Stephen, 2007): in both cases, the involvement of an adult is intended to elicit deeper engagement in a given activity by a child; in both cases, the dyadic bond is strengthened by mutual interest in the activity—the child appreciates the attention that is being paid to them, and the adult appreciates the child’s focus on the activity. Studies examining infant-directed television programmes have found that children’s attention and responsiveness are significantly influenced by the extent of parental involvement (Barr et al., 2008) and it is possible that engagement with digital toys would be similarly affected.

Indeed, unlike the live performance, the app version permits or even encourages conversation. It must be remembered that a live experience generally requires silence from its audience—children are expected to keep quiet until the resolution of the performance, negating the possibility of conversations or questions during a scene to aid understanding. An app experience is communal and communicative, allowing children to comment meta-narratively and leaving space for adults to pose questions, praise or guide.

In both physical and digital scenarios, shared focus is a stepping-stone towards eventual solo interaction. Once a

child has mastered the basic movements required, the adult can observe without needing to assist at any point.





*Gameplay images from White The App.
Images courtesy of Hippotrix.*

Conclusions

This paper describes the conversion of a live performance for young children into a digital experience on a tablet. The process outlined above, from initial brief to release of the

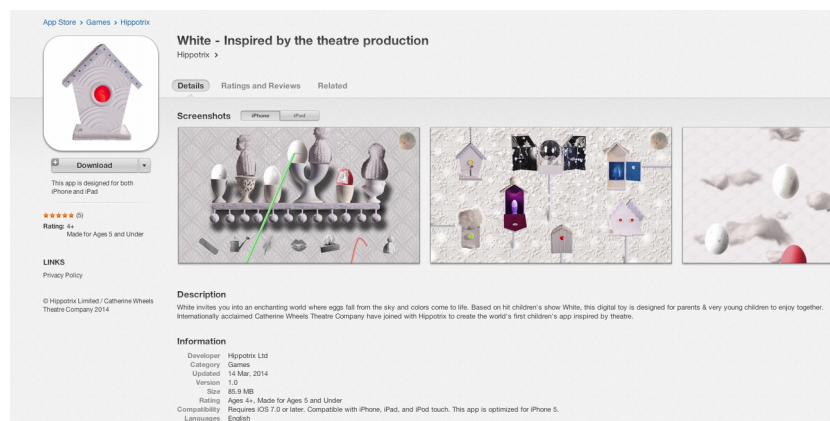
final product, will be familiar to manufacturers and designers, but the role of the child as avatar or interactor, as well as the parent as facilitator, troubles theatre practitioners' traditional conceptions of spectatorship.

More research is needed to interrogate fully the impact of tablet-based theatrical experiences on dramaturgy, spectatorship and performativity. In particular, if transmedia products such as *White The App* are to gain acceptance as being complementary or comparable to live theatre, it will be essential to address the dominant media narrative challenging children's tablet use (see for example Jones 2011; Palmer 2011; Ward 2013), which often describes tablets as 'digital babysitters' and fails to draw distinctions between screen time devoted to television or apps.

As a complement to the live performance, the app version contains scenes and objects which will be immediately familiar to spectators, while simultaneously extending the mythology of the production by highlighting previously peripheral moments, such as the arrival of the eggs from above. For children who have not yet encountered the stage version, *White The App* is an open-ended story which they can construct at leisure, sharing the experience with a parent or sibling until they feel comfortable enough to roam on their own. It may encourage newcomers to attend the live production if they seek greater depth to the experience, or even prompt repeat visits to the theatre by fully-engaged spectators.

It is therefore clear that transmedia can offer theatre companies new means to monetise existing artistic properties and to attract new audiences for whom live theatre is not yet a regular pastime. Whether the medium of theatre apps for very young children has longevity is more difficult to predict. However, as a new form of engagement with theatre for very young children, translating a live 3-D

performance into a replayable 2-D digital toy, it represents a bold step into the digital world for an art form which prides itself on 'liveness'. Adults have shown remarkable willingness to engage with remotely viewed or non-present theatre, such as NT Live; perhaps tablet computers can provide babies and toddlers with similar access to the more interactive genre of theatre for early years.



*Publicity image for White The App.
Image courtesy of Hippotrix.*

Notes

1. The Wii is Nintendo's motion-detecting video game console, released in 2006. The Kinect is a motion-sensing input device launched by Microsoft in 2010, and designed to connect to Xbox 360, Xbox One or PC.

2. 'Digital toy' sometimes also refers to physical toys with a digital interactive element, such as Sony's robot dog AIBO (see, for example, Hsu et al. 2007). The varying terms 'digital toy', 'virtual toy' and 'electronic toy' remain contested.

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Dance, class and the body: a Bourdieusian examination of training trajectories into ballet and contemporary dance

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This article is a result of a small-scale interview-based study that explored the social conditions of ballet and contemporary dance production in the city of Glasgow. This study draws on interviews given by twelve professional dancers and choreographers, both freelancers and company based, who for the purposes of this research offered to share their experiences of studying and making dance. More specifically, this article aspires to map the social conditions of possibility of dancing and making dance, drawing on the class condition and career trajectories of those individuals who became dancers. With the aid of Bourdieu's (1984; 1990; 1993a) concepts of 'capitals' (economic, social, cultural and physical), 'habitus' and 'trajectories', this piece of work will discuss how class conditions give or limit access to vocational training as a career pathway to dance. It is argued that, although the social origin of this sample presents relative variety, dance is an activity that demands different types of support, which are eventually more accessible to those social groups with more assets.

Keywords: Sociology of dance, Pierre Bourdieu, class, habitus, training trajectories

Introduction

This paper will discuss social class in the form of the social conditions of introduction to dance as a determinate of a career in ballet and contemporary dance, using Bourdieu's (1984; 1993a) concepts of 'habitus', 'capitals' and 'trajectories'. Based on a sample of twelve dancers, the complex relationship between class conditions, the body, an individual's introduction to dance and opportunities for vocational training will be shown.

Little has been written about the accessibility of dance or the class origins of dancers. One study systematically examined the social origin of dance practitioners (Sussman, 1990), whilst Prickett (1990) has looked at the relationship between politics and dance addressing issues of class struggle. Gay Morris (2006) mapped the field of dance production in the mid-twentieth century United States with reference to modern / modernist dance, without, however, discussing analytically issues of class. Morris (2001) also positions Martha Graham in the post-war period field of dance but focuses mostly on the aesthetic and embodied characteristics of her practice, even though she employs a Bourdieusian approach. Artists are often seen in isolation to the social conditions that generate them, and a systematic exploration of the social conditions that allowed these individuals to enter this sphere of activity is often omitted, even in the historical studies that look at social context (Franko, 2002; Garafola, 1998; 2005; Manning, 1993).

Furthermore, sociological perspectives on dance produced in the United Kingdom that have looked at organisational or structural aspects of dance and globalisation only marginally examine the social origins of dancers (for example Wulff, 1998; 2005). Thomas (1995; 2003) has written on embodiment theory and the sociology of dance aesthetics. Sociologists Turner and Wainwright (2004; 2005; 2006; 2007) discuss the construction of the balletic body in

light of the formation of dancing 'habitus' and physical 'capital' but do not situate this in the historically determined conditions, both aesthetic and social, in which the dancing body is produced. Alexias and Dimitropoulou (2011) employ Bourdieusian perspectives on the body, looking at the latter as a means ('capital') for survival in the professional world of ballet, whilst examining the attitudes ballet dancers develop towards their physicality. Although this study looks at everyday practices and bodily values, it does not link this to class.

Pickard (2012) explores school children's vocational dance education, focusing on their emotional efforts to internalise the ideal balletic body as a process of developing dancing 'habitus'. Foucauldian works on embodiment and power examine the types of bodily surveillance ballet dancers succumb to (Dryburgh and Fortin, 2010) and their physical experiences of daily pressures posed by the slender-body ideal type (Heiland et al., 2008). Lastly, Ritenburg (2010) conducts a genealogy of the Balanchinean conception of the female balletic body especially prevalent in North America, through looking at the impact of text—books and images on ideas about the ballerina's physicality. However, none of the above studies locate the issue of power in social class.

Theoretical discussion

Janet Wolff (1983) argues that the arts have been historically produced from specific status groups with authority over the definition of artistic practice and access to the means for such practice. Specifically, historical studies reveal that ballet is the product of French absolutism generated in the Italian courts and formalised during Louis XIV's reign by the emperor himself and further by the Academy he established (Franko, 1993). Ballet was also a powerful instrument of other courts, monarchical and, later on, state

institutions (Foster, 1997; Foster, 1998; Pudelek, 1997). Further, ballet and modern / contemporary dance—loosely defined as forms that stemmed from a symbolic break from the balletic tradition—have been performed by specific social groups of differential social power depending on the historical phase. For example, pioneers of early modern dance, what Bourdieu would label as the avant-garde, such as Isadora Duncan or Mary Wigman, had privileged access to both economic and cultural means that allowed them an anti-institutional role in dance production.

Bourdieu (1984; 1993a; 1996) showed that artists often enjoy the privilege of a culturally affluent familial environment that equips them with ‘capitals’, namely means in various states and forms which allow them to invest in markets in which these ‘capitals’ are rendered valuable. Every cultural product, including dance, and every producer is the outcome of specific historical relations among positions consolidated by a form of power—a specific form of capital—which is valid in the particular area of activity (the ‘field’). The field of arts is conceptualised as a competitive game, an area of struggles where different interests are at stake. As Bourdieu notes, the field of cultural production ‘is a place of specific struggles notably concerning the question of knowing who is a part of [this] universe [...]’ (Bourdieu, 1993a, p.163).

In a similar manner, the field of dance is a system of positions through which individuals of specific social classes and aesthetics negotiate and develop forms and styles of movement. The main capital or property, which sets the field in motion and which individuals employ in their engagement in the field, has historically been physical capital or the dancing body. The latter becomes an asset to the extent that it incorporates through practice a set of properties which are measured against the legitimate / dominant principles of dance making. However, other forms

of capital such as cultural and economic make dance possible, as we shall see.

Bourdieu (1984; 1990; 1992) speaks about forms of capital such as economic, cultural and social as forms of assets whilst Wacquant (1995) expands upon the idea of 'physical capital' drawing on Bourdieu's concept of (bodily) 'hexis' / 'habitus'. Bourdieu (1986, p.46) defines capital as the:

accumulated labour (in its materialized or 'incorporated' embodied form) which when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour'.

Consequently, he defines cultural capital as the result of the relationship between lived cultural practices and the rules of (legitimate) cultural production. It is apparent in three forms: a) embodied in the form of dispositions b) objectified in the form of cultural goods and c) institutionalised or certified in the form of educational qualifications (Bourdieu, 1993a). Social capital is equally the set of social obligations or connections, especially the ones that open up opportunities for employment or recognition. Lastly, physical capital concerns the use of the body as a form of capital within a context where the former is the centre of production. In that sense it refers to the use of the bodily forces in order to 'appropriate that particular part of nature, so as to optimize these kinds of forces' (Wacquant, 1995, p.67).

Bourdieu (1990) argues that the use of such capitals can be both instrumental and unconscious and are amenable to what he calls the 'habitus'; namely a 'set of historical relations "deposited" within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation

and action' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.16). In other words, habitus is both the perceptive and generative embodiment that directs and explains individual perception and action. As Fowler (1997, p.18) explains, habitus has an improvisational character, namely as a 'feel for the game' which entails a creative adjustment to the rules and structures of social fields that organises one's response to this set of objective social structures—objective in the sense that they are independent of one's will. Indeed, habitus and capitals are exemplified in the trajectories of individuals or collectives, namely their course across different positions in the various fields of activity and in the wider field of power (Johnson in Bourdieu, 1993a).

Methodology

This piece of research was conducted over four and a half months in Glasgow, and recruited twelve professional international dancers / choreographers, both resident in dance companies and freelance. The sample was obtained by means of snowball technique and twelve face-to-face in-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with artists working in the dance scene of Glasgow¹. More specifically, six ballet practitioners and six contemporary dancers were recruited, nine of whom worked in companies (including their own) and three were freelancers. Four artists were of international origin whilst eight identified as being British. The sample consists of five female and seven male artists.

The social origin of dancers, their classification in categories within the wider context of social classes, is an essential means of revealing the accessibility of art. According to Bourdieu (1984) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) such classification is approximated by the relative volume and structure of forms of capital (economic,

cultural, social) composed in the context of the family / conditions in which individuals are allocated. In this case, class origin was estimated by a series of combinations, namely that of parental socio-occupational categories² and educational status, the composition of certain forms of capitals accumulated in time, and finally their particular use in dancers' career trajectories. As such, dancers' social origin was designated by self-reported assessments of the volume of economic and cultural capitals they possessed in their various forms (inherited / embodied and acquired) and their outcomes in time.

From an ontological viewpoint regarding the conditions of one's existence as inscribed in their experience, and from an epistemological one that sees these conditions as embedded in individual narratives (Bourdieu, 1999), I designed an interview guide which was divided into specific sets of questions. These concerned demographic data and questions about respondents' initiation to dance. Indicatively, participants were asked a series of questions concerning how and why they decided to take up dance and the parental contribution to this decision. Further, they were asked about their own perception and experience of their economic and cultural status, as well as their level of engagement in cultural activities, in order to explore the links between their initiation to dance, their means and living conditions. Lastly, they were asked about the academic institutions they attended and their bodily habits.

For the purposes of this study, my respondents were grouped into two categories derived from the relative similarities in the self-reported volumes and structure of capitals they possessed and the occupational status of their parents. Given the small size of the sample there was not great room for analytical differentiation between the different composition of these capitals, at least one that would allow a meaningful analysis.

Analysis

Mapping class conditions: familial occupations, economic and cultural 'capitals'

As shown in the table below, the first sample category consists of participants who came from financially insecure backgrounds with restricted cultural interests whose parents mostly practiced traditional skilled working-class professions or low managerial ones. Patriarchal professions included engineering worker, taxi driver, factory worker, insurance company agent and small business owner. Fathers possessed no degrees, and in some cases they only had basic school education. The occupational statuses of mothers ranged from housewife, factory worker, nurse, to technical designer with the equivalent training or diploma where relevant. Overall, this group reported no inherited economic and cultural capitals, as we shall explore later, and most male participants in the sample belong to this category.

Participant	Father's occupation	Mother's occupation	Father's education	Mother's education	Economic capital (self-reported)
Sylvia	Factory worker	Housewife	Basic schooling	Basic schooling	Low
Sean	Taxi driver	Technical designer	Basic schooling	College	Satisfactory
Anthony	Oil refinery engineer	Housewife / carer	No qualifications	No qualifications	Satisfactory, yet not a lot of economic means
Stephen	Engineer / technician	Housewife	No qualifications	No qualifications	Low economic means
Ross	Factory worker	Housewife	No qualifications	No qualifications	Low
John	Insurance company agent	Housewife	No qualifications, basic schooling	No qualifications, basic schooling	Working class, low economic means

Richard	Small business owner	Housewife	Basic schooling	Basic schooling	Low
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Table 1: Category 1—parental professions, education and economic capital.

The second group consists of those dancers and choreographers whose families had relative financial security as a result of higher rank professions and educational capital, with strong cultural interests. Parental professions for this second group ranged from transfer consultant, teacher-writer, architect and painter as far as the father is concerned—all had an academic degree—and housewife, secretary, nurse, actress, sculptor, painter as far as the mother is concerned—with equivalent diplomas or degrees where relevant. To an extent, the artists belonging to this category possessed both economic and cultural capital in the inherited form as well as educational capital accumulated through training or universities.

Participant	Father's occupation	Mother's occupation	Father's education	Mother's education	Economic capital (self- reported)
Josephine	Architect	Actress	University	Drama school	Sufficient
Luke	Consultant	Housewife / secretary	History degree	Secretary diploma	Satisfactory
Elisabeth	Doctor	Housewife	Medicine	Nurse / housewife	Satisfactory
Rose	School teacher / writer	Nurse / sculptor	University degree	Art school / nursing school	Satisfactory
Emma	Visual artist	Visual artist	Art school	Art school	Sufficient economic means

Table 2: Category 2—parental professions, education and economic capital.

However, mapping participants on the axis of their parental profession and / or economic means does not explain why they became dancers. As Bourdieu (1984) argues, such structural determinations cannot be used to predict the future positions of individuals. It is rather the set of everyday practices and choices—often defined structurally—that can take us closer to the experiences of class (Savage, Warde and Devin, 2005) and the conditions enabling these individuals to become artists. Such conditions are both objective and embodied, guiding individual practices and decisions (*habitus*). In an effort to establish a relationship between these conditions and respondents' introduction to dance, the frequency in which participants engaged in cultural activities as children was examined.

Dancers with a lesser volume of inherited economic and cultural capital appeared less familiar with artistic activities³. Consequently, performance attendance, visiting museums / galleries, and reading were kept at a minimum or appeared non-existent. Parental unfamiliarity with arts and cultural activities led to the indirect rejection of these as possible leisure activities. Most participants in this first category did not engage in the aforementioned practices due to their particular family disposition. As John characteristically reported: 'the world of the arts [was] just so far away from their daily life'.

The relative inaccessibility of culture to this first group was not limited in relation to content but was also economic. Sylvia, a twenty two year old female ballet dancer, discussed the lack of economic means for cultural activities, reporting: '[There were] not too many opportunities, we didn't have the economic means for it'. Further, two participants reported lack of options for cultural consumption in their area of residence: 'we didn't have many options where I come from'. According to Bourdieu (1984), geographical distribution of individuals is relevant to the possession or lack of economic

and cultural capital and vice versa. Central cities are usually culturally richer than the periphery and offer more opportunities for cultural engagement.

Conversely, a significant number of respondents within the second more privileged category came from strong artistic backgrounds, where at least one parent is an artist. Unlike the previous group, all but one participant engaged intensively in cultural activities during childhood as a result of parental interest in culture. As Luke from this second group reported: 'I joined performances, museums and art galleries'. Further, three participants reported to have been playing a musical instrument (piano, cello, flute) whilst one studied music at a professional level. Overall, such practices were supported economically by families whilst in at least three cases parents commuted in order for their children to attend dance classes, overcoming possible geographical restrictions.

These differences in the cultural and economic status of the two categories are the product of an asymmetrical distribution of capitals (economic, cultural, etc.) among different social groups, or the result of the exclusion produced by the existing social relations. However, the majority of dancers in this sample reported that they engaged in extra-curricular activities (but not necessarily artistic) as a result of parental instigation irrespective of social origin. This signifies that the deprived category of this sample did not face full exclusion as we can see below.

Participant (category)	Indicators of cultural capital	Extra-curricular activities
Sylvia (category 1)	None	Ballet
Sean (category 1)	None	Drama classes, dance
Anthony (category 1)	Paternal interest in jazz and drawing, yet no active participation in any other cultural activities.	Ballet
Stephen (category 1)	None	Folk dance, martial arts in local community schools. Peer influenced
Ross (category 1)	None	None
John (category 1)	Interest in design, but as a child less familiar with cultural activities as a result of parental provision. Much more engaged as an adult.	None
Emma (category 2)	Dance and painting, drama, attending museums, galleries concerts, reading literature.	Dance, painting
Josephine (category 2)	Participation in cultural activities, theatre, museums, galleries.	Gymnastics, ballet
Luke (category 2)	Participation in cultural activities, dance and music performances.	Gymnastics, ballet, flute
Elisabeth (category 2)	Theatre performances, music performances, plays, musicals, dance.	Ballet, arts and crafts, tennis
Rose (category 2)	Attending film, theatre,	Ballet, piano, painting,

	dance performances, book reading (literature).	cello
Richard (category 1)	Interest in folk music and dance, no cultural activities.	None other than recreational dance.

Table 3: Cultural capital and cultural activities.

Capitals and Introduction to Dance

The parameters identified as influencing participants' introduction to dance constitute aspects of economic, cultural and social capitals. More specifically, geographical space, the availability of the activity in the area of residence, its relative cost, peer influence (social capital) and familial artistic interests or interest in dance particularly, have been widely identified here as deciding factors. The majority of the sample started dancing at a local dance school (mostly private) at a relatively early age.

However, for those dancers allocated to the less privileged group, introduction to dance depended primarily on peer influence and the reportedly low cost of the activity when compared to other possible activities. Additionally, cultural and regional parameters, such as dance being a customary national activity, motivated introduction to dance at an early age. Parental experience in dance and especially in social and folk dance was also a common pattern in this category and reportedly played a key role in several participants' introduction to dance. Folk dance (introduced by peers) was also the means through which one male participant moved on to ballet and modern dance, whilst only one male participant in this group was introduced to dance as a mature adult. Most families in this less affluent category approved of dance as an activity and a possible profession⁴. However, the former possessed ignorance of a suitable

strategy for their children in this respect.

In the second, more affluent, group, all but one respondents were directly introduced to dance (ballet primarily) at a very young age under the rationale that dance was an activity which benefits the body and / or constitutes a medium of socialisation that encourages physical activity and artistic creativity. Familial decisions for participants' introduction to dance in this second category depended on a set of values evidently distant from material necessities and restrictions. Dance was seen as a legitimate pastime activity and valid in its own right. Overall, families in this group were supportive of their children's later professional choice without necessarily viewing dance as a profession from very early on. Only in one case did commitment to the activity come at an early stage, thus resulting in a specific strategy by both the parents and child. Additionally, only one participant within this second group reported her family having objections to her choice to study dance at a professional level, suggesting academic study would be more appropriate.

The body as capital: the role of bodily hexis in dancers' introduction to the form

This sample has shown that people from diverse social categories come to practice ballet and contemporary dance. However, the material and cultural means available to them and the role these played in their introduction and practice of dance are linked to dancers' embodiment. Physical capital, a set of bodily usages, capacities, attributes and values, are linked to one's material and symbolic status in the form of bodily hexis. The former constitutes the incorporation of social structures such as values, representations and uses of the body in one's mental schemata and physicality, structures amenable to the social conditions to which individuals are subjected. As Mauss (1973) argued, primary socialisation, in particular cultural

contexts, marks the body in specific ways. As a result, individuals develop characteristic ways of applying their body, or, as conceptualised by Mauss (1973), 'techniques of the body'. Further, Bourdieu (1984) argued that these 'techniques' are class significant. Unrefined movement is always associated with the working classes—an example of this is the identification of football being historically seen as a working class terrain (see Hughson, Inglis and Free, 2005). Hence, proclivity for certain bodily activities can be explained by the specific bodily dispositions which are formed in the context of everyday life (Bourdieu, 1993b, 1984).

For example, a predisposition towards intense movement was evident amongst individuals belonging to the first category, who we could classify under the general term 'working classes'. Most participants reported having a really active childhood with a noticeable inclination to jumping and running which made them prone to enjoying physical activity and, importantly, their parents were keen to encourage this. It is thus of great significance that some participants in this category were introduced to ballet / contemporary dance after having tried other physical activities such as martial arts and folk dance. This indirect route is significant of the lack of familiarity of the artistic aspects of bodily usage but constitutes a sign of disposition towards physical engagement. Conversely, values about the body being socialised through an artistic bodily activity were strong motives of the more privileged categories of this sample, which saw ballet as a form of bodily socialisation.

Further significant differences exist between particular attitudes to the body, the social origin of their bearers and their introduction to theatrical dance. The respondents who were directly introduced to ballet and possessed a relatively high volume of cultural capital reported that they were self-

assured about their body before their introduction to dance. They valued proper nutrition and a healthy, exercised body and took care of their bodies as a whole. Thus, introduction to dance as a bodily activity was the realisation of these values. According to Bourdieu (1984), this indicates distance from necessity and a conception of the body as an end itself and not simply as a means.

Josephine explained:

When I was seven, I started with gymnastics and my parents heard that gymnastics give length to your body and make your muscles tight; [...] similarly, dancing [since] makes you more 'stretched' (ballet dancer, 22 years old).

Conversely, some dancers from the less privileged category expressed their sense of discomfort within their bodies, as they reported to have been shy or over-apologetic about their appearance, especially, but not exclusively, in childhood. At the extreme, they totally disregarded the appearance and function of their physicality. For example John, who was introduced late into dance, reported of his physical presence: 'I was very apologetic'. Lack of confidence in bodily presence combined with a diffident posture signifies a disposition associated with the lower classes (Bourdieu, 1984). It further follows that other everyday practices contributed to these bodily states. These include patterns such as unhealthy eating, and, later on, alcohol consumption and careless management of injuries. Male dancers, especially in the less privileged category, reported not taking care of their bodies until later on in their professional lives and were less careful with food and alcohol.

Further, an affinity between late or indirect introduction to dance with lower class origin, gender and a particular

bodily ethos was also traced. For example, one male participant initially trained in judo, started folk dance and engaged in break-dancing. Being brought up with the values of good build, strength and masculinity—which are directly relevant to a lower class ethos (Bourdieu, 1984, 1993b)—this particular individual was inclined to engage in effortful bodily activities under the reported slogan ‘man lift iron’. Thus, his particular route to dance complied with a cluster of values corresponding to this working-class hexis.

However, for those cases which were marked by an early introduction to ballet training in either category, dance shaped participants’ bodily hexis as much as any other social activity they engaged in. Their dancing body was constructed and experienced as a naturalised state of being. As Emma remarked: ‘I’ve been dancing from a very early age, and therefore don’t really have a point of comparison’.

Nevertheless, both social categories as bearers of distinct forms of physical capital and bodily hexis gained access to the practice of dance. As Bourdieu (1993b) would argue, the particular activity can be associated with different bodily states and therefore be performing a different function depending on the social category practicing it. As we have seen, the body is a bearer of social relations and distinctions which can be reproduced through dance. Thus, ballet and contemporary dance appear compatible with clusters of values and attitudes towards the body deriving from different relationships with the body. This signifies, as Bourdieu (1993b, p.126) states for sports, a structural modification in the field, namely the attribution of diverse functions to dance by its practitioners but also:

[...] a transformation of the very logic of [dance] practices [...] runs parallel to the transformation of the expectations and demands of an audience which now extends far beyond its former practitioners.

This is why demands of bodily control and discipline, often associated with the particular choice of bodily activity, acquire a different meaning according to one's values. Regulation of the body as a working class value and direction of one's energy towards a bodily activity signifies a totally different relationship with the body when compared to that of a middle class agent which under the same name or demand enacts the body as an end and not as a means. As Desmond (1997) argues, dance as a cultural practice is not the direct manifestation of economic base; it is an outcome of struggle within the social universe in which economic relations are prevalent. As a result, 'social relations are enacted and produced through the body and not merely inscribed upon it' (Desmond, 1997, p.33).

Career strategies and trajectories

Among the objectives of this study was to examine the field and social trajectories of dancers in order to identify how social origin and capital possession influence their opportunities in dance. This section maps the specific strategies employed on the onset of vocational training and their effects on individual histories and status at that stage of their career. Dancers' field mobility and social reproduction are ongoing processes whose instances could only be partially captured in this research. However, trajectories and strategies are directly related to each other, constituting indicators of the social efforts for replicating or upgrading one's social positioning and position in the field of dance. Dancers plan their strategies according to the volume and structure of capital they do or do not possess, thus making specific investments.

Within this sample, those with a greater volume of cultural capital appear to have a wider space of possibilities, while investing in their existent cultural capital often in the state of disposition to arts, cultural practices, and education. Multiple strategic investments in different fields (academic,

artistic) are often simultaneously put into practice and function as strategies for social reproduction. More specifically, most dancers in the second, more privileged category, reckon to never have made a clear choice to become dancers, since they had the relative material ease to try several life options and career routes (see Bourdieu, 1984). Some cases were markedly typical of this notion, where trajectories were marked by investments in several institutions (universities, schools of art, dance schools). These routes also reflected on their conversion strategies, specifically changes in dance styles, return to academia, or changes of institution, which took place with the aid of economic capital⁵. For example, three respondents in this more privileged category possessed university titles in the arts, and one held a postgraduate title in choreography, as opposed to the first category where only one participant had a postgraduate qualification in dance practice.

Dancers possessing more cultural capital and a more direct relation to the arts, or those with sufficient economic capital, appear to consciously choose the training institutions they attend, which appear to be in elective affinity with their aesthetic disposition (*habitus*) and evidently match their ideas about dance. However, studying in these institutions was not considered or functioned as a life decision. Emma characteristically reports:

I never decided for real to become a dancer but when I auditioned for the place in the contemporary dance school and got in that was really my chance to train as a professional, to be a professional dancer. I still had in my mind—had the safety net of thinking—oh well I still don't know if this is definitely the right pathway for me. I don't know if this good enough, I might decide to leave if I'm not enjoying it.

In contrast, steps like auditioning in specific schools or picking dance styles functioned as absolute decisions for

those deprived of the means to design alternative strategies. For example, Ross never changed institutions although he felt it was not what he had expected. It was nevertheless a choice very much directed by the fact that he studied at a renowned dance academy.

Indeed, institutions perform different functions according to the different uses made of them. One of the differences produced in that sense relates to the extent to which individuals adjust to the educational logic of such institutions by internalising the criteria of assessment and validation in order to develop their career. As shown in the example above, institutions exert more power over those lacking the means to plan alternative strategies. Hence, such dancers see their training as a lifetime opportunity as opposed to those who have other options. As Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) suggest, there is a homology between institutions and their students, and one between the trajectories and their bearers. In that sense, individuals lacking the means are led by institutions, while their privileged peers make use of their institutions.

However, individuals who possess the means (those from the second category) often abide by this scholastic logic for some time or for as long as they can persevere, either because of their unfamiliarity with dance an early stage or the privilege of taking this option without committing to it fully, whilst simultaneously investing in several other options. However, complex orbits and multiple directions could also be a result of the struggle for survival in the field, especially for those with less means, which may force someone to study dance regardless of the style of dance studied. Nevertheless, dependence on institutional validation is common for all dance trajectories.

Conclusion

This sample has shown that particular social and aesthetic conditions give access to the practice of ballet and contemporary dance at the level of vocational training. Overall, dancers in this sample were divided into those relatively deprived of economic means and cultural capital, and those who drew on much more economically secure and culturally privileged backgrounds; the effects of which we examined in relation to their trajectories towards vocational training.

The different means available materialised in different types of opportunities (or lack of) for cultural and educational practices in early life. The most privileged category engaged in a variety of cultural and extracurricular activities, including other forms of art, at an early age, whilst those with less means had no access to these activities, marginally practiced ballet or inexpensive physical activities.

However, those with less means were not completely excluded from dance; cultural parameters such as country of origin, geographical proximity to dance schools, the relatively low cost of the activity and parental experience in folk dance can explain the early introduction to dance practice for those participants with less means. Late or indirect introduction to dance, a phenomenon encountered in the less privileged category, is a result of the lack of the resources mentioned above. Indicatively, a number of dancers from this category practiced other physical activities before they took up dance.

However, bodily capital also constitutes an important dimension in the structure of capitals allowing introduction to dance. Thus dancers' bodily hexis and disposition towards movement may be an explanatory parameter and

differential embodied characteristics such as attitudes towards the body, eating habits, and bodily practices reveal how different social categories understand and apply their physicality. As we have seen, some dancers from the less privileged category reported discomfort within, or took less care of, their bodies, and saw them as a means to survival. In contrast, the more privileged dancers saw their physicalities in a positive light and reported that exercise and care are essential for their well-being; as such their bodies were highly valued. This is particularly reflected in the choice of 'refined' activities that are considered as beneficial to the body such as gymnastics and ballet, as indicated earlier.

Class differences were also made visible in the different trajectories participants drew within the field of dance, particularly at the stage of vocational training. Those participants who were relatively deprived of cultural and economic capitals did not employ a specific strategy towards becoming dancers but depended heavily on institutional direction. They often had long and complex orbits until they reached a dance institution in which they tended to remain. Conversely, dancers with relatively augmented forms of capital employed multiple strategies, investing mostly within the scope of culture and education as a result of their embodied cultural state and economic means. They were also more secure in their attendance and use of dance training institutions. Hence, they appeared confident enough to make use of the cultural markets of training and education as an objective space of available opportunities. Indeed, as this research has shown, dancers from economically and culturally more privileged backgrounds have greater flexibility and more opportunities for success within the field of dance.

Notes

1. For the purposes of anonymity, confidentiality, and the protection of my participants, as agreed with the Ethics Committee of the University of Glasgow prior to this research, the nationality of the participants will not be revealed. Glasgow constitutes a small scene, which can make particular individuals highly recognisable. For this reason all participants have been given British pseudonyms. Similarly, I will refrain from attributing particular characteristics to these individuals, such as the schools attended or the companies they work for, to keep them unidentifiable.

2. In this article, I place emphasis on the starting points and the career 'trajectories' of these artists before their vocational training. Therefore my aim here is to address the means required for one to become a dancer, i.e. the relationship between one's means and ends, rather than looking at the present class situation and status of dancers in the wider social structure. My classifications draw on participants' own understandings of their life conditions at the starting point and throughout their career. I also introduce the socio-occupational categories of their parents in order to contextualise these conditions. Occupations reflect positions in the economic and social organisations that are linked to particular rewards and status (Scott, 2006). However, it is not my attempt to conflate these with class. In this case, I adopt Mills' (2014) argument that occupations are seen as proxies and, as in all research, they do carry assumptions if there is lack of detailed data. McGovern et al., (2007) argue that class indicators can be measured at the level of individual jobs. However, Mills (2014, p.2) explains that: 'no general purpose survey will collect the detailed information required for accurate measurement of the real variables of interest'. Given the qualitative character of the study, these classifications have a descriptive character and there are a series of associations made here in order to represent class in context. Other aspects, such as parental education and their links with cultural practices, bodily usages and geographical space, are included here to highlight the multidimensional phenomenon of class. This study is in no way exhaustive of the issue and therefore acknowledges the limitations of operationalising class throughout.

3. With the exception of two cases where the mother had a past experience of dancing as an amateur.

4. Only one family opposed it as a legitimate occupation.

5. Only two participants in this second category reported issues of financial support and funding for their studies, which were overcome by means of scholarships. Overall, pursuing an artistic activity, which would lead eventually to a career, was for this group a prospect interwoven with their strong dispositions towards arts and culture.

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Intersections between the academic and 'real' worlds of dance at the British Dance Edition 2014: a report

BETHANY WHITESIDE

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The context

The Gleneagles Ryder Cup and Glasgow Commonwealth Games may be yet to come, but 2014 in Scotland launched with the international biennale, British Dance Edition (BDE), the United Kingdom's largest dance industry showcase. Running from 30 January to 2 February in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and attracting almost 400 delegates from 40 countries, this was the first time that the event had taken place in Scotland.

The curating team, comprised of Morag Deyes (Artistic Director of Dance Base), Ailsa-Mary Gold (Artistic Director / Chief Executive of Dance House), Laura Eaton-Lewis (Director of The Work Room) and Roberto Casarotto (International Projects Manager, Opera Estate Festival, Veneto, Italy), had the envious but overwhelming task of programming the event. Just 27 companies from the 200 who applied were invited to perform a complete work at BDE; a further 11 companies were offered the opportunity to share studio work and another 40 were invited to take part in the Networking Trade Fair, held on the Friday and

Saturday (Apter, 2014). Janet Archer, Chief Executive of Creative Scotland, explained the potential impact of BDE's 2014 location:

I really do feel that here, in Scotland, we still need to sing better—and louder—about what we do across all the arts. But in terms of dance, where the quality of our work is really strong, I feel that hosting BDE will certainly help raise the art form's profile in a hugely dynamic way (Brennan, 2014).

Held every two years since its inception in 1998, the event attracts dance artists, producers and programmers from around the UK and abroad to watch the cream of the contemporary dance crop. The purpose of the event revolves around seeing and being seen. Dance artists hope to be noticed by programmers, producers and funders; programmers, producers and funders look to find key talents; and as a PhD dance student and Co-editor of the *Scottish Journal of Performance*, someone who does not belong to any of these groups, this proved to be an exciting and valuable opportunity to interpose myself between the academy and the stage.

This submission format, an event report, is unusual for a scholarly journal, but a growing number are exploring different mediums of enquiry. For example, performance reviews have a dedicated space in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, and 'Backpages' within *Contemporary Theatre Review* explores the practice of performance artists and theatre workers. This submission is also testament to the *Scottish Journal of Performance's* commitment to exploring new ways of scholarly communication, especially relating to new work and issues of immediate relevance. The aim of this report is to uncover and highlight some of the intersections between the 'real' and academic worlds of dance evident at this year's BDE, drawing on relevant literature to site some

of the issues and questions raised within an academic context.



British Dance Edition 2014.

Intersections between the academic and ‘real’ worlds of dance

Talk / Presentation: Siobhan Davies and Ian Spink, Friday 31 January 2014

This talk looked at themes of motivation, movement making and memory, and Siobhan Davies and Ian Spink were justly introduced by Roanne Dodds, Chair of the Workroom in Glasgow, as ‘contemporary gold’. Davies is one of Britain’s foremost choreographers and creator of works including *White Man Sleeps* (1988) and *Bird Song* (2004). Spink formerly danced with the Australian Ballet and Australian Dance Theatre and was previously Artistic Director of Citymoves in Aberdeen. The two dancers collaborated and created the company Second Stride (together with Richard Alston) in 1988; their shared history meant that this was a discussion rooted in the past.

The study of dance history has been criticised for focusing too narrowly on a set canon of phenomena; on key people, places, periods and trends (Aldrich, 1992; Carter 2004, 2007;

Sparti and Adshead-Lansdale, 1996). However, this was a discussion that reiterated the importance of hearing experiences and opinions from some of these 'key people' involved in choreographic processes. Spink focused on the need for and the choreographer's relationship with confidence. Davies recounted how in the early days she 'was doing it, while being it', describing the process as a constant race to catch up. She 'did not have a clue... but felt so released having the freedom to try'. Davies also described the process as necessitating 'a mixture of knowledge and bravery', the attraction of creating lies in the 'intellectual *slash* physical pull'.

The discussion moved on to an examination of the role of the digital archive—Davies has been extensively involved in this through Siobhan Davies RePlay, an AHRC-supported project with Sarah Whatley from Coventry University, which constitutes 'the first online dance archive in the UK' (Siobhan Davies RePlay). This project has directly resulted in a significant body of literature looking at the preservation of dance performance for cultural memory and kinaesthetic empathy (see for example Whatley, 2013a, 2013b, 2008). However, Davies takes a democratic and realistic view to the power and potential wielded by a digital archive, recounting how a film made from the back of the stalls in 1977, of a work called *Sphinx*, had the potential of making her look like a 'runner bean on speed'. Davies highlighted her belief that everyone should have the potential to create a physical archive, based on moves that are not necessarily dance-generated. Davies talked for example about how 'my body remembered picking up a child', a movement deeply inscribed, with sociological ties to the notion of everyday bodily habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), raising a key question: what movement needs to be or should be archived?



Siobhan Davies, Artistic Director, Siobhan Davies Dance.

*Artists' Exclusive: Liz Lerman's Critical Response Process,
Friday 31 January 2014*

As the nation's investment agency, Creative Scotland has undertaken a number of arts sector reviews, the dance sector review being the most relevant in this context (Clark, 2012) and as Jon Morgan, Director of the Federation of Scottish Theatre explained, the conclusion was reached that more critical reflection was needed on creative processes. It was this sentiment that led to the incorporation of a session focusing on Liz Lerman's Critical Response Process as part of the *Artists' Exclusive* section of the BDE programme. Lerman's career spans dance performance, education and advocacy. The central premise of the unique multi-generational dance ensemble she founded, Liz Lerman's Dance Exchange (now named Dance Exchange), is the democratisation of dance.

The session employed the Critical Response Process, which centres on critiquing performance and providing feedback. It involves the central roles of facilitator(s), artist and audience, performed in this setting by Ailsa-Mary Gold and Roanne Dodds, Jennifer Paterson (Artistic Director of All or Nothing), and the delegates respectively. Dancers from Paterson's company performed four excerpts from the work-in-progress *Three's A Crowd* and delegates were then

asked to work through the key four stages of the process together. Briefly, they involve:

1. Giving statements of interest (as part of a settling-in period; the aim is to put the artist at ease and to get people talking to one another).
2. Answering questions put to them by the artist.
3. Asking the artist questions.
4. Giving statements of opinion (following a protocol, whereby the artist is asked if they would like to hear the opinion about 'x').

This is a process of inquiry. It is important for the artist to understand that if they really want to know what is felt by those providing feedback, then they do not say what *they* themselves feel. This is a process that gives the artist the opportunity to reach conclusions themselves, via opinions given and questions asked:

The Critical Response Process engages and energizes the community in interactive dialogue. Its mediated use of language opens multiple levels of creative and critical discourse, which in turn inform and enhance the community's conversation (Williams, 2002, p.93).

Significant literature exists on the technique, including the original text *Liz Lerman's Critical Response Process* (2003). The process has been used in a number of arts-based and non-arts-based contexts, such as to impart constructive criticism to choreography students—an experience that 'is so frequently a contentious and disheartening experience' (Williams, 2002, p.93)—and to facilitate student reviews of writing by their peers in an interdisciplinary setting (Mahoney and Brown, 2013).



*Janet Archer, Chief Executive of Creative Scotland,
attends Siobhan Davies Dance's Table of Contents at the BDE.*

*Talk / presentation: A conversation about modern ballet,
Saturday 1 February 2014*

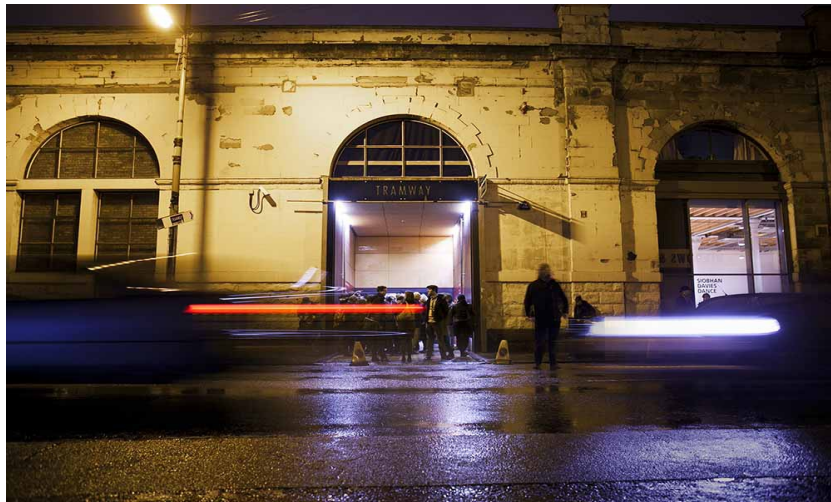
With an eminent panel featuring Claire Morton (Director of Morton Bates Arts Services), Emma Southworth (Senior Producer and Studio Programmer, The Royal Ballet), Christopher Barron (Chief Executive, Birmingham Royal Ballet) and Christopher Hampson (Artistic Director, Scottish Ballet), this event focused on the trials, triumphs and terminologies of modern ballet. Ballet companies view themselves as being in a position of significant responsibility, both as cultural ambassadors and, as Hampson put it, 'guardians of a national treasure'. Barron used the term 'citizen ballet' to emphasise this macro-responsibility.

The key focus was on the notion and very terminology of 'modern ballet': what barriers exist between ballet and contemporary dance? Are barriers needed? Should they be broken down further? Further questions followed: 'Is this a new term?', 'The term?', 'Is it important to have a label?' Hampson declared that he particularly dislikes the term 'modern ballet', finding it simultaneously helpful (the term 'ballet' can generate ticket sales) and challenging (the term can also dictate a certain audience that does not reflect or

appreciate the breadth and depth of Scottish Ballet's repertoire).

This discussion reflects a disparity and debate within the academy regarding the greater issue of classification of dance in relation to style, genre and form and where ballet is sited. The majority of studies label ballet as a form of concert or performance dance (Cohen and Copeland, 1983; Nahachewsky, 1995; Pugh McCutchen, 2006), although this has been explored more recently by Whiteside (2013) and was first famously contested by Kealiinohomoku in her seminal text *An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as a Form of Ethnic Dance* (1970).

Cohen and Copeland (1983) argue that dance styles relate to properties manifested by a work that are characteristic of an author, period, region, or school. Blom and Chaplin (1986) define individual dance style as a) choreographic style, b) codified technique or c) personal style. Particular styles can also be linked to significant dancers and choreographers 'glowing like stellar constellations' (Wigman, 1966, p.17). However, concerning ballet style, Morris (2003) has argued that strict adherence to the fixed forms of vocabulary and traditional methods of teaching and learning has led to a loss of opportunity for both progression and preservation of ballet styles. Significantly, the term 'modern ballet' has been adopted as a degree subject offered at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland in conjunction with Scottish Ballet, with the curriculum described as 'classically based and complemented by a strong contemporary dance strand, allowing students to develop as technically accomplished, versatile dancers' (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland), thus challenging the claim that the ballet genre has no capacity to evolve.



Tramway: home of Scottish Ballet and venue for Day 3 of BDE.

*Panel discussion: Dance: what you can and can't say, Sunday
2 February 2014*

Chaired by Joyce McMillan, *Scotsman* theatre critic and columnist, the panel of this final spoken word event comprised Lloyd Newson (Artistic Director, DV8 Physical Theatre), Claire Cunningham (performer), Rosie Kay (Artistic Director, Rosie Kay Dance Company) and Christopher Hampson (Artistic Director, Scottish Ballet).

With high attendance by delegates, two key themes emerged out of this highly invigorating discussion: quality of dance education, and the meanings and stories that dance should convey and is capable of conveying.

Dance education: Newson began by expressing deep concern over the poor body language and lack of artistry and basic technique displayed by dancers at vocational institutes. Over a decade ago, Morris (2003, p.20) argued that part of the issue in ballet training institutions is that teachers 'assume that their role is to teach students to perform the codified steps "correctly"'. Education institutions focus too heavily on training to the detriment of choreographed movement, and additionally, the lack of a student-led approach prevents dancers from acting

independently and experimenting with their own progression, expression and creativity. Morris (2003, p.20) cites Foster (1997) in pointing out that 'such elements as interpretation, variation or performance style' are given limited attention. This impedes dancers' ability to meet the demands of different choreographers and companies.

Newson's comments drew both concurrence and difference of opinion from the audience. Delegates shared the concern that the standard of British dance was below par but the notion that training did not reflect the multicultural nature of British society was also raised, and the strengths of the dance industry were highlighted. However, all were united in agreement that this issue was a long-standing debate, and one that is likely to reoccur.

Dance as text: The discussion revolving around dance as a transmitter of meaning is rooted in the notion of dance as text, an exploration well-critiqued in postmodern and poststructuralist dance studies literature (see for example Desmond, 1997; Fraleigh and Hanstein, 1999; Goellner and Murphy, 1995).

A key theme of the talk revolved around the argument that dance is associated with freedom of expression and trustworthiness because of the artform's commitment to movement as text, rather than speech as text. McMillan recounted how audience members watching the National Theatre of Scotland production *Black Watch* (2006) preferred the choreographed movement scenes to the text, 'because they associate movement with authenticity and language with untrustworthiness'. Hampson stated that he can always see honesty in a dancer: 'it can't lie, dancing. I can see right into who they are; even bits of them that they can't see'. The identity of the dancer is of no account, nor whether they dance at an amateur, vocational or professional standard, as long as they are dancing. As

Hampson succinctly stated: 'You can't say nothing with it [dance]'.

Dance cannot help but convey messages; the problem arises when we consciously try to convey specific meanings through movement. Newson's solution is 'to use whatever means necessary with particular commitment to movement' to communicate meanings in his works, because 'movement isn't great at doing sub-text'. Hampson recounts the famous quote by George Balanchine who stated that 'There are no mothers-in-law in ballet', summing up the limitations in focusing on character-driven narrative. Our very physicalities can also limit the messages being conveyed. In reference to the dominance of 20- to 30-year-old, able-bodied, white dancing bodies, Cunningham (a multi-disciplinary choreographer and performer) pointed out that 'if you just keep using the same bodies, you can't say everything'. McMillan reiterated the need to look at 'what kinds of bodies tell what kinds of stories'. However, challenge can act as a key motivator; choreographer and Leverhulme Artist-in-Residence at the University of Oxford, Rosie Kay explained that she is drawing less on text because she finds it so addictive to use dance as a means of expression and believes that it is good for audiences to work ideas out for themselves.



plan B's The Shoogle Project at BDE.

Summary

British Dance Edition is a multi-faceted event, featuring performances, works-in-progress, networking fairs, and talks and presentations. Ostensibly, the event showcases the talent of UK dancers and dance organisations to national and international programmers. However, the topics explored, debates instigated and discussions held throughout BDE 2014, particularly in the 'text-based' events of talks, presentations and panel discussions, mirror the foci of current discourse in dance studies: the mechanics of archiving dance; challenges of dance specific terminology; the quality of dance education; the nature of dance as text conveying meaning. This report has only covered a fraction of the events and issues present at BDE in order to give them some focus and situate them in academic literature and discussion. However, the overall aim of the report is to argue for greater cohesion between the academic world of the dance scholar and the 'real' world of the dance worker, often the subject of scholarly enquiry, through utilising the BDE to look at some of the many intersections where they collide, challenge and complement one another.

Cohesion can be more overtly discerned in physical settings such as networking events, theatre and studio performances, and open academic lectures and seminars. However, literature is a dominant mode of dissemination and communication, and the majority of paper-based investigations which draw these two 'worlds' together see the researcher critiquing dance practice and theory, with conclusions reached remaining within the ivory towers of the academy. This report, which sets within an academic context the conversations enjoyed at a non-academic event, is freely available and illustrates that many of the deliberations in the macro dance world are shared by dance researcher and worker alike. We should not just be dancing and talking to communicate these debates and discussions, but have the opportunity to read, report, preserve and expand upon them as well.



Delegates attend a Fair Exchange Networking Session at Tramway.

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About the author

BETHANY WHITESIDE embarked on an ESRC CASE Studentship in 2011, supported by Capacity Building Cluster 'Capitalising on Creativity' grant #RES 187-24-0014, following completion of an MSc in Dance Science and Education at the University of Edinburgh. Her PhD focuses on the sociology of participatory dance. Since embarking on her doctoral study, Bethany has presented and published at national and international conferences and given guest lectures at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh. She was recently appointed Visiting Research Scholar at Temple University Dance Department, funded by the ESRC as an Overseas Institutional Visit.

Book review: *Men's cinema: masculinity and mise-en-scène in Hollywood*, by Stella Bruzzi

ELISABETTA GIRELLI

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Men's cinema: masculinity and mise-en-scène in Hollywood, by Stella Bruzzi. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013; ISBN 9780748676163 (£19.99)

Stella Bruzzi's new book makes a welcome intervention in the fields of film and gender studies. Skillfully building upon classic works on the construction of male identity on screen, she nevertheless provides a completely new focus on the topic, offering a valuable addition to existing scholarship on this most crucial issue.

The problem of how cinema organises and creates gendered images has long been at the forefront of film studies. However, as Bruzzi points out, the critical effort to deconstruct this gendering process has been dominated by relatively narrow theoretical and methodological prisms. Since Laura Mulvey's enormously influential essay *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* (1975), most approaches to the subject have been centered on the dynamics of the cinematic and spectatorial gaze, or more recently on the broader strategy of representation analysis. Indeed, the ubiquity of 'representation' as a key point of focus in the humanities has, to a large extent, precluded the opening up of different analytical avenues. It is in this context that Bruzzi's book makes its entry, proposing instead a bold shift: namely, a move away from representation and, even more

specifically, from the critical insistence on the represented body that dominates past and current work in the field. This is not to say that the author is uninterested in the body as a crucial element in the articulation and experience of what she terms 'men's cinema': on the contrary, part of her argument is that films often convey masculinity through making the audience feel it at a visceral, thus corporeal, level. The process by which this effect is achieved is, according to her argument, inserted in the wider canvas of the films' aesthetics. The great novelty and value of Bruzzi's work is precisely here, in her focus on style and *mise-en-scène* as vital components of cinematic masculinity.

Rather than just announce her different take on the topic, Bruzzi takes the reader through a comprehensive and critical review of masculinity scholarship, preparing the ground for her own intervention. Most interestingly, she shows how earlier criticism had already contained at least a hint of her own alternative view; for example, she quotes passages from the work of Thomas Elsaesser and Malte Hagener, identifying the semi-hidden possibilities in approaches to film criticism to which these earlier studies had alluded.

After this enlightening introduction, Bruzzi gets into the main body of her argument, ably supporting it with well-chosen and fascinating examples. Chapter 1, 'How *Mise en Scène* Tells the Man's Story', sets the scene by offering in-depth textual analyses of Hollywood films spanning from the Classical era to the 1970s. Through case-studies ranging from *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962) to *The Deer Hunter* (1978), the author convincingly shows how stylistic elements shape the screen's expression of masculinity. The book's next two chapters, 'Towards a Masculine Aesthetics' and 'Men's Cinema', bring her discussion up to the present via an impressively rigorous, eloquently assessed array of film deconstructions. The first of these two chapters

concentrates on seminal films such as *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968), *The Wild Bunch* (1969) and *Dirty Harry* (1971), which are approached as key and influential features in the development of more recent masculine aesthetics. The writing is eloquent and precise at the same time, and her close reading of, for instance, the crane shots in *Once Upon a Time in the West* is riveting. Bruzzi weaves camera movements, action or lack of it within the frame, and sound into a solid aesthetic formation which is both expressive of, and haunted by, the invocation of masculine worlds and narratives; yet she accomplishes this without privileging plot developments, devoting instead most of her critical attention to style. The result is eye-opening, thoroughly convincing, and critically exciting.

The final chapter continues the analysis of the stylistic elements responsible for the creation of masculine cinema through case studies that begin with Martin Scorsese's films of the 1980s and end with *Inception* (2010). Here again, Bruzzi reveals and sheds light on cinematic tropes and motifs which have been mostly ignored or taken for granted; I found her discussion of the men-walking-together image especially interesting. Throughout the book, she returns to the notion of an inclusive approach to 'men's cinema', making it absolutely clear that the aesthetics, effects and thrills described and analysed are not only enjoyable for men, thus further stressing the highly crafted nature of gender configurations.

The only possible query, or doubt, that this brilliant work provokes is really just an afterthought: could it be that 'representation' itself needs to be expanded as a term and as a practice? Do *mise-en-scène*, aesthetics, and all stylistic considerations truly occupy a separate realm of method and analysis? Or should the enquiry into a gendered mode of expression be seen as a multi-faceted enterprise that ultimately, indeed inevitably, deals with something the

filmic image *re-presents*? On these possibly idle questions this review of *Men's Cinema: Masculinity and Mise-en-Scène in Hollywood* concludes, but not before stressing how this book will be indispensable to anyone studying or researching the presence of masculinity on screen. Through its challenging approach, its accessible and engaging writing style and its relevance to the discipline, Bruzzi's work is essential reading for university students at all levels, as well as for film and gender scholars.

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About the review author

DR ELISABETTA GIRELLI is a Lecturer in Film Studies at the University of St Andrews. Her research interests focus on the representation of identity, sexuality and gender, on film stars, on issues of bodily normativity, and on critical theory. Her latest book is a monograph entitled *Montgomery Clift, Queer Star* (Wayne State University Press, 2013), which provides an analysis of Clift's star persona and trajectory through the lens of queer theory. Previous publications include *Beauty and the Beast: Italianness in British Cinema* (Intellect, 2009), and various scholarly articles, most recently on subversion and spatial relationships in Czech cinema, and on representations of the Communist spy Guy Burgess in the light of nationality and notions of 'camp'. Elisabetta is currently working on a new project on silent film star Rudolph Valentino.

Book review: *Embodied politics: dance, protest and identities*, by Stacey Prickett

ANDRIA CHRISTOFIDOU

DOI: 10.14439/sjop.2014.0102.08

Publication date: 13 June 2013

***Embodied politics: dance, protest and identities*, by Stacey Prickett. Hampshire: Dance Books, 2013; ISBN 9781852731663 (£20.00)**

There is today an increased discussion of dance as a political tool and *Embodied Politics: Dance, Protest and Identities* by Stacey Prickett, Principal Lecturer at Roehampton University, is a valuable contribution. Through the use of two time frames—the 1920s and 1930s, and the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries—Prickett divides the book into four chapters to present how the body can be the medium through which dance can act as a tool for political and social protest. By focusing on four different examples in three different geographical areas—New York, San Francisco and Britain—she presents how dance pageants have acted as a means of social and economic struggle and resistance.

The book opens with a discussion of the social and political context of early twentieth century America and how this influenced the recreational dances of the time. Prickett specifically focuses on a number of informal artistic pageant events inspired and guided by Edith Segal, ‘one of the outspoken reds’ (p.1) who aimed to ‘connect art and work and workers’ (p.51), providing a detailed historical account of the Red Dancers’ revolutionary dance action for social equality, workers’ rights and racial empowerment. The

thorough account of Segal's history and the new historical and interview data she provides add vastly to the existing literature. Prickett manages to situate Segal's practices into the wider socio-economic climate of uncertainty in the late 1920s and to provide an analysis of how dance assisted in, and in some cases became a means of, the workers' resistance.

The second chapter moves from the USA to Britain to discuss the socio-political conditions prior to and during the late 1920s that fed into the emergence of workers' dance groups. Prickett describes how Britain's class structure was shaped and analyses how class identities were brought into consciousness through the cultural superstructure. The author specifically refers to socialist movements and organisations that influenced the emergence of groups which established ties with workers and created 'new plays with strong class themes for amateur worker productions' (p.59). There is brief discussion of the increased institutionalisation of dance since the 1920s in Britain and the choice of some dancers to act outside these institutional structures. Prickett closes this chapter by referring to Margaret Barr's activism and the role that the Co-operative movement played in the spread of left-wing dance in Britain, which resulted in the sponsorship of folk dance groups and the integration of dance as part of the visual spectacle of late 1930s left-wing pageants.

In the third chapter, Prickett focuses on the San Francisco Bay Area which, as she argues, back in the 1930s was 'the bastion of postmodern dance theatre and performance rich in political and social themes' (p.92). Prickett considers her own performance viewing experiences, personal communication with artists, reviews, archival material and recordings of production, to focus on certain practitioners, their aesthetic style and their exploration of these social and political themes in the late twentieth and early twenty-first

centuries. Drawing on the work of Anna Halprin, Margaret Jenkins, Joe Goode, Keith Hennessy and others, the author emphasises the importance of dance activity in that area and how it managed to influence the wider field of postmodern dance.

The final chapter of this book takes a slightly different direction and provides a discussion of South Asian dance within education and public arts frameworks in early twenty-first century Britain. With reference to the London 2012 Olympic Games and other cultural events, Prickett discusses the inclusion of multiple dance genre performances that aimed to represent Britain's multiculturalism and respect for diversity that took decades to be achieved. She provides a brief history of South Asian performance in Britain and the influence that several arts organisations and projects have had into the establishment of cross-cultural dance genres in this context. The author focuses on dance funding and institutionalisation, as well as the role of education, to discuss how these affect diversity and integration of non-Western dance genres in popular discourse.

The structure of the book—four short chapters that read as case studies—enables the reader to follow Prickett's analysis. The short sub-chapters within each chapter then allow the reader to keep focus and understand better the detailed data provided. The intended focus of the book adds vastly to the existing literature, especially since the author discusses under-analysed artists and specific pageant events rather than providing a general discussion of dance as protest. Prickett also includes some interesting visual material of images of dancers in protest. The poses of the dancers' bodies, and the way they hold objects such as swords and flags, permit the reader to conceive and analyse them as means of political and power resistance.

Despite their positive elements and highly engaging style, some chapters do not read as part of an overall argument but rather as independent, yet informative essays. Nonetheless, this is a book that draws on many sources, makes reference to some of the most important studies in the field and uses examples which should be useful for anyone interested in the politics and history of modern (and South Asian) dance. It should be read by students, academics and dance historians who are interested in the sociology or politics of dance. This is a book that analyses dance as a practice achieved through bodies that are affected by wider socio-economic conditions, but also as a practice which is able to raise consciousness about a range of social and political issues such as class, race, gender and economic inequality. Prickett, in her conclusion, acknowledges that this is just a beginning, and she reports a range of issues that call for further exploration.

About the review author

ANDRIA CHRISTOFIDOU is a PhD candidate in Sociology at the University of Glasgow. Her PhD is looking at performances of masculinities and gender in ballet and contemporary dance companies and educational institutions in Scotland. Her research interests revolve around sociology of dance, cultural sociology, gender studies, queer theory and masculinities / femininities.

Book review: *Singing: personal and performance values in training*, by Peter Harrison

RALPH STREHLE

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Singing: personal and performance values in training, by Peter Harrison. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press; ISBN 9781780460062 (£25.00)

There is something wonderfully old-fashioned and endearing about Peter Harrison's *Singing: Personal and Performance Values in Training*. Partly this has to do with the author's seeming desire to re-introduce notions of classical ethics and aesthetics into a profession which has, he maintains, turned the art of singing into a spectacle of the fastest, highest and strongest voice. Excitement and thrill have replaced sustained artistic endeavour and aesthetic appreciation. Harrison writes in a classically humanist vein, bemoaning the demise of an era where singing was an art-form and merit determined by craft and skill rather than by media exposure. There is a wider cultural critique here: the culture of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries fundamentally eschews notions of 'self-realisation' and 'authenticity', which are at the centre of Harrison's book. Time and again, Harrison points out the importance of 'returning to our natural state' (p.51), the *arche* and *telos* of the humanist project.

In Harrison's view, every music college, conservatoire or academy should have a literary department where singing students can learn the arts of reciting and reading aloud and take classes in 'the appreciation of word-settings' (p.103).

Dancing, drumming and Eurhythmics would also figure strongly because, he argues, 'a lack of rhythm is worryingly common among singers' (p.89). As if to demonstrate the depth of his desire to change the current conservatoire curriculum, Harrison provides an exemplary 5-year curriculum in the appendix.

Harrison sets out from a laudable premise: to understand singing as a holistic undertaking which cannot be reduced to any of its aspects alone. Emotion cannot be separated from technique and technique cannot be separated from physique. There is no standard formula for teaching singing, only a hermeneutic project where teacher and student undertake a journey as equal partners in order to recover a student's voice and personality. Undoubtedly, the text is strongest in sections which discuss the anatomy and physiology of the human voice and its organisation into subsystems which cannot be separated from emotions and meaning-making processes.

A major disadvantage of the text lies in its often anecdotal style—'I once was at a lieder recital by a well-known singer...' (p.59)—coupled with unfounded generalisations when talking about pedagogy at music conservatoires. Harrison does not draw on academic research to substantiate his claims. Students' practice, for example, has been the central focus of recent self-regulation and self-efficacy studies: Ritchie and Williamon (2013, p.11) showed that students use musical skills such as 'acute ear / detailed listening' in practice and that these skills can be linked to self-regulated learning behaviours such as to 'evaluate the quality of progress of learning' (see also Ritchie and Williamon, 2011). In her study on strategies and self-efficacy beliefs in individual practice, Nielsen showed that students employ cognitive, meta-cognitive and resource management strategies during practice (2004). The detail, rigour and conclusion of these studies is in stark contrast to Harrison's

claim that 'students rarely know how to benefit from their practice' (p.112).

More disconcertingly, Harrison cannot do justice to his holistic paradigm. His book simply does not provide him with the space to do so. Towards the end, the reader is confronted with an increasingly eclectic and seemingly unconnected mix of short paragraphs fitting in everything from noise pollution to meditation to Alexander Technique. There is no longer a sustained argument, Harrison instead providing a catalogue of recommendations. The author seems to be aware of this, pointing out early on in the book that 'talking holistically of one aspect of singing... one must assume constant linking with or referencing to all other aspects upon which it has a bearing or of which it is an integral part' (p.7) and that this can be problematic since one is obliged to write in a linear fashion. Harrison's approach is spatial and best displayed in a mind map (p.12), centred on the singer, where all the internal and external connections and influences are delineated. In the text, however, these aspects become disconnected. As a result, the reader will find it increasingly difficult to link the various parts back into a whole.

There is no doubt that Harrison is an insightful and witty commentator drawing from a wealth of personal experiences. Although knowledgeable, large parts of the book are journalistic rather than academic; too much remains unclear and undefined, his use of philosophical and psychological concepts vague. Buddhism figures along with Jung, Spinoza and Fromm, without a clear trajectory. To this end, it is far from clear what readership Harrison has in mind when writing his book. Without a sustained engagement with current teaching practices at conservatoires nor with the philosophical or psychological concepts underlying his writing, neither teachers nor academics will benefit from reading this book. As for

singing students, they may find it entertaining but, as Harrison himself points out, 'to write a book about singing without a single exercise in it may seem odd' (p.74). Thus, whilst I love his romanticised notion of a good singer as 'an ambassador of the heart'—try explaining that with VoceVista¹—the heart of his book is somehow lacking.

Notes

1. VoceVista is a computer software package that can be used by singers to analyse formants, harmonics and vowel-modification.

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About the review author

RALPH STREHLE holds a PhD in English from Royal Holloway, University of London and also an MA in postmodernism, literature and contemporary cultures. As a visiting lecturer he taught courses in modern theory, literature and philosophy, and postmodern critical theory at RHUL. In his PhD and subsequent publications Ralph tried to establish a post-structuralist phenomenological ethics. In recent years, Ralph has become interested in the transition from philosophy to performance psychology. Using Personal Construct Theory and Self-Determination Theory, his particular focus is on the interaction between individuals and their social environment in the context of music performance.

Book review: *Walking and dancing: three years of dance in London 1951–1953*, by Lorraine Nicholas

BETHANY WHITESIDE

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Walking and dancing: three years of dance in London 1951–1953 by Lorraine Nicholas. Hampshire: The Noverre Press, 2013; ISBN 9781906830656 (£10.00)

Walking and Dancing uncovers and communicates the potential experiences of dance spectators in the ‘ballet boom’ of the early 1950s in London, ‘repeatedly declared the dance capital of the world’ (p.8). Nicholas combines walking as a research method with the more traditional historical approach of drawing upon primary sources to imaginatively evoke and recreate dance places and spaces, and the dancers and dance works within them, in the social, cultural and economic context of a bygone era. The author characterises the period of 1951–1953 by its ‘Britishness’: the Festival of Britain took place in 1951 and Queen Elizabeth II’s coronation was in 1953. As Nicholas notes, this study on entertainment for the masses is timely given that both the London Olympics of 2012 and the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee exist in recent memory.

By her own admission, through using artistic licence to recall a bygone era, Nicholas ‘diverge[s] from best practice of academic writing’ (p.12), utilising a style that is more ‘conversational’ (p.12) in nature. However, the adoption of walking as a research method is briefly explored and set in the context of the academy, drawing upon the disciplines of social anthropology and psychogeography to illustrate the

practicalities of the framework. Nicholas argues that 'places enable a channel of historical imagination; a structure for making us consider possibilities within a known framework' (p.9). Primary sources in the form of scrapbooks kept by amateur recorders and articles, critiques and conversations recorded by contemporary writers provide another layer of exploration. These documents and artefacts are heavily drawn upon to recreate the experiences of the spectators of the past and contribute to Nicholas' use of the universal pronoun 'we' in the main text; her voice becomes the contemporary of a 1950s dance spectator. If the walking determines the route by which the research is carried out and communicated, it is these voices of the past that provide the detail and colour both the author's and reader's imagination.

Unsurprisingly given such a multi-layered approach, this slim book features photos of dance venues and dancers as well as maps alongside the text. The inclusion of two maps pinpointing the main theatres and sites of interest in relation to one another and the geography of Greater London is useful. The key chapters in this book are chronological in nature and are entitled '1951: Dancing Britannia', '1952: Too Much Ballet' and '1953: A Crowning Glory', each chapter beginning with a brief description of a walk encompassing the sights and sounds of early 1950s London. The chronological approach is further cemented by the noting of key historical events in a second typeface, emphasising that crucial 'news' is being imparted. Below a section dedicated to the Royal Coronation Gala, we read, 'June 1953: 17th: Uprising in East Berlin put down by Soviet tanks' (p.99). The 'real' world is never far away. Although each chapter and segment imparts information linked to a specific time and place (particular dancers, performances, touring schedules), the same themes run through each of these chapters: the dominance of ballet in the British dance scene, the need for morale-boosting entertainment in a grey, drab post-war world, challenges to the British ballet lineage,

and the intersections between dance works and British colonialism / imperialism in a new era of organised mass immigration.

Nicholas aims to create an 'analogy between walking the real streets and travelling in thought... [and] to realign my selection to the real time of the moment rather than historical insight' (p.10). As the author points out, dance histories tend to focus on a particular dancer, dance genre or era of dance. Nicholas' use of walking results in a democratising of dance history through retracing the literal steps, and so the fictional experiences, of the rarely reflected-upon dance spectator. However, this aim does come with certain challenges and limitations because:

...this is dance in London as it *could* have been experienced by any anonymous, dance-aware person walking the city... However, this hypothetical spectator is not a single person but a conjunction of the twenty-first century researcher, her sources and some diverse, imaginary dance enthusiasts (p.11).

In following the 'varying viewpoints and values' (p.11) shared by Nicholas and the layered chronological and physical path created, there are moments of potential mild confusion and irritation for the reader. For example, the over-use of exclamation marks influences the reading experience and the barrage of named companies, dance places and spaces, dance works and dancers is also confusing. Lastly, a deeper description of what Nicholas or the 1950s dance spectator actually *saw* on their physical walks between landmarks would have been appreciated.

However, to adopt Scottish terminology, this book could be described as a wee gem of a study, and it should appeal to both the amateur and the academic. The study is an

opportunity for the twenty-first century dance enthusiast to be a spectator of early 1950s dance in Britain's capital, and at the heart of the work is a debate and discussion that resonates to this day: the role and purpose of dance performance when 'entertainment is public' (p.14). What stories can be told? What meanings should be conveyed? Nicholas' approach to asking and answering these questions is evocative, multi-layered and (certainly within the context of dance studies) unique.

About the review author

BETHANY WHITESIDE embarked on an ESRC CASE Studentship in 2011, supported by Capacity Building Cluster 'Capitalising on Creativity' grant #RES 187-24-0014, following completion of an MSc in Dance Science and Education at the University of Edinburgh. Her PhD focuses on the sociology of participatory dance. Since embarking on her doctoral study, Bethany has presented and published at national and international conferences and given guest lectures at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh. She was recently appointed Visiting Research Scholar at Temple University Dance Department, funded by the ESRC as an Overseas Institutional Visit.

Book review: *Reverberations across small-scale British theatre: politics, aesthetics and forms*, edited by Patrick Duggan and Victor Ukaegbu

BEN FLETCHER-WATSON

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Reverberations across small-scale British theatre: politics, aesthetics and forms, edited by Patrick Duggan and Victor Ukaegbu. Bristol: Intellect; ISBN 9781783202973 (£35.00)

In their new book, Duggan and Ukaegbu gather reflections on theatre companies old and new, extant and disbanded, physical, visual, political, touring, site-specific, diasporic, mainstream, radical and cross-arts. They aim to explore ‘the diversity of forms and praxis in the small-scale theatre terrain that is arguably, distinctively British’ (p.xxi).

The text consists of interviews with representatives of Foco Novo, Tiata Fahodzi, Talawa and Tara Arts (all London), Tinderbox (Belfast), Volcano (Swansea), Grid Iron (Edinburgh), Lone Twin (Brighton), The Paper Birds and Red Ladder (both Leeds), and salamanda tandem (Nottingham). The editors note that ‘more than 100 companies’ (p.xvii) were whittled down to the final selection. It is perhaps inevitable that almost half are based in South-East England—on almost any metric from geography to funding levels, London exerts considerable influence, although surprisingly this factor is discussed only in passing. Despite rumblings from beyond the M25, not least as part of the current Scottish independence debate, London’s hegemonic status is not questioned as fully as it

might be.

This is not to say that the editors shy away from an examination of nationhood. Their nuanced introduction recognises the problematic nature of 'Britishness', and individual chapters critique conceptions of nations and belonging in light of power-shifts to Stormont, Senedd and Holyrood. As they note, '[the companies] are *part of* a wider cultural discourse that is multifarious, nebulous, fluid and always already *in process* [italics in original]' (p.xiv). Nonetheless, a sense of tussling with nationhood perhaps emerges more strongly from the farther-flung companies than some of the more London-centric groups: Tinderbox founder Tim Loane notes of his early work that, 'To us in those days, theatre meant English' (p.31) while Volcano member Steve Fisher rejects explicit nationalisms: 'We were not overtly "Welsh", in fact more "Swansea" than anything' (p.51). Politics of Britishness are less apparent in the chapters on Foco Novo or salamanda tandem, where issues of praxis or funding take centre stage. Most fruitfully, those sections dealing with black, Asian and minority ethnic companies achieve a merging of the two, reflecting on Britishness / otherness as a catalysing mode of practice springing from what Jatinder Verma calls 'the margins of dominant discourse' (p.129). It is here that the book's subtitle, 'politics, aesthetics and forms', becomes most fully realised.

The amount of detail provided is admirable. Texts examining regional UK theatre—by Roger Wooster (2007) and Anne-Marie Taylor (1997) for Wales, Randall Stevenson and Gavin Wallace (1996) for Scotland, or Tom Maguire (2006) for Northern Ireland—tend not to employ interview transcripts (Wooster excepted). By contrast, *Reverberations...* provides primary source material comparable to interview collections such as Maria Delgado and Paul Heritage (1996) on international directors or

Gabriella Giannachi and Mary Luckhurst (1999) on UK directors. For scholars and students, the opportunity to delve into the first-hand reflections of key theatre-makers is immensely valuable.

The material is too sprawling and heterogeneous to explore fully here, but for me, notable chapters include those on the exemplars of non-English UK theatre-making.

Northern Irish company Tinderbox is discussed in *Staging the UK* (Harvie, 2005), with its focus on national identities, but David Grant's chapter on the company explicitly privileges 'the question of scale' (p.21) rather than Britishness. In particular, Grant successfully teases out the subtleties of the small-scale: 'the capacity to speak directly to a specialised audience, while retaining the potential to appeal to the world beyond' (p.28).

Gareth Somers takes on physical theatre group Volcano, noting the coloniser / colonised discourse prevalent in pre-devolution Wales. Anne-Marie Taylor (1997, p.97) has pointed out 'the artistic (and also political) desire to create a specifically Welsh theatrical language, that would by-pass the English mainstream and establish kinship with culturally overshadowed countries' and a sense of rejecting the establishment flavours the entire chapter, with Somers usefully framing Volcano as post-punk and most importantly, angry.

Scottish readers may be drawn to Chapter 10, where Trish Reid interviews Grid Iron's Ben Harrison. This stands out as one of the book's strongest sections, combining a thorough detailing of the company's history with nuanced analysis of contemporary cultural issues and the 'renaissance in Scottish theatre' (p.177). Harrison implicitly questions a 'small scale' definition of Grid Iron, preferring the currently

fashionable figuration of 'established' versus 'emerging' companies, and contrasts 'buildings' with the famously peripatetic National Theatre of Scotland. The usefulness of taxonomies of scale as opposed to taxonomies of experience (or even of bricks and mortar versus a van) is questionable, and Reid points out how scale is perceptually dependent on surrounding ecology—big fish in small ponds. She also provides one of the first scholarly interrogations of 2012's furore over Creative Scotland (see also Cloonan, 2013).

Any reader will have their own list of companies they would include—why not Graeae or Gay Sweatshop? What about children's theatre?—but the curatorial task is unenviable and the editors have presented an excellent survey which succeeds in 'illuminat[ing] the importance of the contributions of small-scale theatres to the "bigger picture" of British social, political and cultural life' (p.xiii). In particular, the decision to invite individual scholars to conduct each interview means that the collection reflects the sector's diversity, rather than pursuing a single authorial thesis. This rich, fascinating text will hopefully inspire debate within the academy, and provide valuable insight into a wide range of companies as Britishness reaches a crossroads.

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About the review author

BEN FLETCHER-WATSON is currently studying for a PhD in drama at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and the University of St Andrews, supported by an ESRC CASE Studentship. His research examines contemporary Scottish practice in theatre for early years. He has published articles in journals including *Youth Theatre Journal* and *Research in Drama Education*, and is Co-editor of the *Scottish Journal of Performance*. His wider research interests include autism-friendly performance, theatre for foetuses and the history of pantomime. He serves on the Executive of the [Theatre and Performance Research Association](#) (TaPRA) and is an [ASSITEJ Next Generation Artist](#).